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The Nation.
June 28, 1980 $1

ORIAL

A VOICE IS SILENCED

The announced termination of *Harper's* magazine last week shocked us, as it should everyone who cares about the state of journalism, the state of the culture and the state of the marketplace of ideas in this country. In *The Years with Ross*, James Thurber wrote that in its early struggling years *The New Yorker* was almost discontinued by its publisher, Raoul Fleischmann. Then the principals met after the wedding of columnist Franklin P. Adams and, in the benign afterglow, someone remarked that if the magazine went under, "a voice would be stilled."

Now a voice *has* been stilled, a voice that, under the magazine's last in a distinguished lineage of editors, Louis H. Lapham, was eclectic, quirky, exasperating, occasionally brilliant, much like the Easy Chair columns Lapham contributed. To the end, *Harper's* clung to the honorable role of general magazine. In an age when magazines on dieting, weddings, gun-collecting and hairdos are designed by computers, the general magazine of ideas, opinion and the arts is regarded as something of a dodo along Mad Ave. *Harper's*, the business types concluded, couldn't attract sufficient advertising. Or was it that they were paying too much to gain new subscribers? Either way, its $1.5 million loss this year was regarded as too much. And so its conglomerate owner, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, did what conglomerates reflexively do: (*1*) try to sell it, then (*2*) honor thy bottom line.

We can't help wondering if the Star and Tribune Company's life were at stake, there would have been such haste to close the doors, or whether with a vast investment of business imagination, commitment, love, *Harper's* might not have been saved. There is no free lunch, but does that mean our cultural diet must be limited to profitable junk food?

C.O. 'CAMPS'
Ken Lawrence

PARK'S CLONE
Donald L. Ranard

ENVIRONMENTAL VICTIMS
Ronald Brownstein

BRAZIL'S MONETARIST REPRESSION
Penny Lernoux

'PINEAPPLE FIELD'
W. S. Merwin

PROXMIRE'S 'FLEECING'
James R. McDonald

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

ANOTHER TRILATERAL ELECTION?

THOMAS FERGUSON and JOEL ROGERS

In his race to the Republican Presidential nomination, Ronald Reagan violated an elemental taboo of American politics. He named names. He made the Trilateral Commission a political issue.

This spring, Reagan's repeated attacks on his leading rivals' ties to David Rockefeller and other Trilateral financiers catapulted the once obscure organization into national prominence. For the first time in its seven-year history, the commission gained wide notice from the nation's press.

But the flurry of clippings produced little of substance. Eastern liberal papers like *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* and major business magazines like *Business Week* and *Forbes* sharply downplayed the organization's importance. Some even suggested that popular interest in its workings reflected an incipient social pathology. More conservative journals clearly appreciated the commission's power. But by dwelling on the unrivaled personal authority of Mr. Rockefeller, their coverage often left the impression that the organization operates in a political vacuum, free to bend the universe at will.

Nowhere did the major media identify the commission for what it is—a vehicle for highly mobilized transnational business elites profiting from the world economy's rapid integration. Nor did the press explore the mounting resistance this integration has inspired, the strain it puts on traditional structures of international relations, or the havoc it has wreaked on domestic political alignments.

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LETTERS.

LANGGUTH MISREAD US

Cambridge, Mass.

A. J. Langguth's review of our *Political Economy of Human Rights* ["Someone Is Watching," *The Nation*, Feb. 16] misreads it in interesting ways. His critique and his defense of the media in fact illustrate very well some of the points we were making.

Langguth ignores the main themes of Volume I, apart from a single-sentence summary. A fuller and more accurate discussion would have put his comments to a more severe test. We show not merely that "the U.S. Government favors client states with bloody-minded dictators over Third World democracy" (his rendition), we describe in detail why this preference exists, how support is manifested and the reason so many U.S. clients are corrupt and torture-prone. We also argue that the symmetry of structure and behavior of the U.S. client states in providing a "favorable climate of investment" in all its aspects (including systematic repression) is great, probably as great as within the Soviet empire. If valid, these points would appear to deserve mention. They hardly conform to the prevailing liberal view of the U.S. world role, and they bear directly on our discussion of the ways in which the media provide an ideological cover for this system of relationships, the question to which Langguth limits his attention.

Langguth regards our "attacks on the press" as "willfully wrongheaded" in certain respects. He claims that with the benefit of hindsight, we unfairly condemn errors made "because of slackness or inaccurate sources or the pressures of time." But we argue and try to demonstrate that the distortion in the media is not a matter of individual error but reflects a bias that is both systematic and capable of rational explanation in terms of structural facts and pressures. Consider our discussion of press coverage of Timor and Cambodia in the 1975-78 period under review. In Cambodia, the atrocities could be attributed to an official enemy; correspondingly, they received massive publicity, and, not content with the gruesome reality, the media indulged in extensive fabrication. In Timor, the atrocities, which were comparable, were carried out by a friendly client state with U.S. support. Correspondingly, the facts were concealed and distorted, and the gruesome reality and U.S. responsibility ignored. To discover the "truth" about Cambodia, Henry Kamm interviewed refugees (sometimes under Thai police guard, raising no questions about the authenticity of their reports under these conditions). To discover the "truth" about Timor, he interviewed Indonesian generals, and on their authority reported as "fact" that the Timorese guerrillas "forced" the people to live under their control. Though many Timorese refugees were available, their evidence was scrupulously avoided. The massacres and starvation resulting from the U.S.-backed invasion were generally suppressed or attributed falsely to a "civil war." We devoted hundreds of pages to documenting a systematic pattern of distortion and deceit in these cases. . . .

Evading the Point

Langguth is entitled to say that he finds our argument unconvincing, offering his reasons. But he simply evaded the point. He writes that "if the world press were to converge suddenly on Timor, it wouldn't improve the lot of a single Cambodian." True, it would not have helped the suffering Cambodians if the press had told the truth about Timor, but it would have helped the Timorese, very substantially. Had the press not concealed and distorted the facts, the huge massacres could have been stopped, since they depended crucially on U.S. diplomatic and military support, which rose dramatically during the Human Rights administration. . . . Press deceit on Timor, or on Cambodia, helped no Cambodians.

Langguth is also guilty of a careless anachronism. He fails to note that the issue of feeding the Cambodians—his "major issue," which he claims we slighted—never arose during the period we reviewed, but only after our book went to press. During the period 1975-78, there were, surely, serious problems of famine throughout Indochina. But the United States made no meaningful effort to help, nor did the press urge such help. As we documented, the United States even withheld aid from Laos, where starvation was severe as a result of the destruction of the agricultural system by the United States. Thus, while accusing us of neglect of a "present fate" that did not exist when we wrote, Langguth fails to note the huge hypocrisy in the recent surge of concern over Indochinese starvation by an establishment and media long silent on the subject and which contributed so much to its evolution.

Langguth claims that we were intent on "shrugging off responsibility" for the fate of Cambodia, but this interpretation of our motives is supported by nothing we wrote, and is quite false, as is his characterization of our assessment of the situation in Cambodia. Our main point was that in this, as in many other cases we discussed, the media engaged in systematic distortion in conformity with contemporary ideological demands. Langguth seems to be questioning the legitimacy of assessing facts where the truth has been decided for us, and to Langguth's satisfaction. But the issues of *how* bad things were, the difference between unorganized and centralized terror, its timing and how these matters were treated in the mass media all seem to us serious questions. Langguth joins the parade—and it is a long one—of those who say that since the Pol Pot regime committed major acts of terror, it is out of bounds to inquire further.

Langguth cites one case where he claims that our accusations were false, namely when we wrote that the U.S. bombing of Laos was "initially suppressed" by *The New York Times*. As our reference, which he cites, makes quite explicit, we were referring to the U.S. air assault on the civilian society of northern Laos, which was concealed, exactly as we stated (Volume II, page 117). Langguth responds irrelevantly that the press did report the U.S. bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail in *southern* Laos. The latter bombing, an extension of the Vietnam War, was tolerable to the ideological system on the assumption that the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam was legitimate. But the bombing of northern Laos is much harder for the system to assimilate, since it was basically unrelated to the Vietnam War and involved the destruction of a defenseless peasant society. From this case, Langguth concludes grandly that "*The Times* is in the business of selling news, not suppressing it." The example illustrates the contrary.

Langguth complains further that "Chomsky and Herman want to harp

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EDITORIALS.

Muddling Through

Following the aborted attempt to rescue the hostages in the American Embassy in Teheran, President Carter announced that even if the hostages weren't free, he had been liberated from his self-imprisonment in the Rose Garden. The crisis had become "manageable," he explained, eliciting a mixture of consternation, disbelief and snickers from the gallery.

Carter, it will be recalled, had pledged not to engage in "partisan campaigning" until the hostages were released. But as a result of three helicopters conking out and another colliding with a C-130, killing eight men, the crisis had become "manageable," and the President said he could resume campaigning.

Skeptics had the temerity to ask why the crisis was now more manageable than before. But these skeptics were looking at the wrong crisis. Obviously the crisis Carter had in mind lay within his own Administration—the conflict between the hawkish National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the moderate Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance. By precipitating the resignation of Secretary Vance, the aborted mission restored tranquillity to the home front, thus freeing the President to hit the campaign trail.

Now, however, following the trip to Teheran by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark with a delegation from the American Friends Service Committee, the squabbles within the official family appear to be breaking out again. The new Secretary, Edmund Muskie, who had already artfully excluded two Brzezinski operatives from his meeting with Gromyko in Vienna, took issue with those who thought that Clark should be prosecuted. Muskie said that the regulation banning travel to Iran was designed to prevent, not punish, travel, and that he would be glad to hear anything significant that Clark and company had learned on their trip.

Shortly thereafter, the President assumed the Brzezinski

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role, announcing at an informal press conference that his "inclination" was to prosecute Clark. This seemed an impolitic thing to say for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was, as former Attorney General Clark himself pointed out, that if the American delegation had indeed broken any law, such remarks could poison the case against them. Even Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti was quick to disown the President's threat, since it potentially infringed upon his own prosecutorial discretion.

Why would Carter leap into this legal-political thicket? There are two theories. The first is that it was simply another headache for campaign manager Bob Strauss—the latest goof in the lineage of the "communications failure" that caused us to change our vote in the United Nations Security Council condemning the Israeli settlements, Carter's unexplained absence from Tito's funeral, the flap over the discovery of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba which turned out to have been there for seventeen years, the skipped pages in the Presidential inflation message, etc., etc.

There is another theory, however, which might be dubbed the strategic-blunder theory. Under this theory, the President emerges looking less like a bumbler. As a careful student of history, he knows that the Bay of Pigs invasion was one of the greatest diplomatic blunders in this nation's history. Yet when the mud had settled, everyone from Nelson Rockefeller to Dwight Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur and Barry Goldwater had rallied behind the President, and John Kennedy's approval rating was never higher.

The more one thinks about it, the more it seems that the Rose Garden strategy itself was predicated on the strategic-blunder tactic. First came the admission of the Shah to this country for medical treatment. By any prudent standards of diplomacy, that was a blunder, but then the President was off and running—and he has been running ever since, improvising his strategy as he goes along. Although it is clear that threats merely strengthen the Iranian resolve to resist pressure from the hated superpower, the famous screws were tightened, sanctions imposed, a rescue mission dispatched and hastily aborted. All these moves led inexorably to the current "inclination" to prosecute for violating the travel ban to Iran the same man whom the President had appointed his personal emissary to negotiate the release of the hostages. Now, presumably, the President can leave the final decision on whether to prosecute or not to prosecute to Attorney General Civiletti.

The problem is, what will Carter do for his next strategic blunder? The Clark case would seem to provide further options. If Civiletti agrees with Secretary of State Muskie that the case is not worth pursuing, one can conceive of the President then ordering his Attorney General to prosecute and Civiletti refusing and Carter firing him. Then if Philip Heymann, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, who has already let it be known that he too will not be influenced by Presidential preference, also refuses to go along . . .

It is too soon to say whether such speculation is merely a sketch for *Saturday Night Live* or a scenario for a new kind of Saturday night massacre.

Patenting Germs

Despite its science-fiction flavor, this week's 5-to-4 Supreme Court decision to allow the patenting of a human-made bacterium divided along the usual ideological lines and is just another instance of the dispute over who's in charge of policy, the Congress or the Court.

At issue was the ownership of a laboratory-manufactured species of bacterium put together about a decade ago by a General Electric scientist, Ananda M. Chakrabarty. An early example of what has come to be hailed as the biotechnology explosion, the creature can break down oil and may have commercially useful applications. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Warren Burger held that because the bacterium was a product of human manufacture, it was covered under patent law.

In his dissent, Justice William J. Brennan Jr. argued that the statute, whatever its wording, was not intended by Congress to cover living organisms because Congress has twice enacted separate legislation on the patenting of plants, first in 1930 and then again forty years later. "The Court's decision does not follow the unavoidable implications of the statute. Rather, it extends the patent system to cover living material even though Congress plainly has legislated in the belief that Section 101 does not encompass living organisms. It is the role of Congress, not this Court, to broaden or narrow the reach of the patent laws. This is especially true where, as here, the composition sought to be patented uniquely implicates matters of public concern."

Those "matters of public concern" are the future of genetic engineering, hotly debated since the summer of 1974. At first centering on safety questions, the argument has altered direction in the past few years in the wake of extraordinary financial interest in its commercial possibilities [see Tabitha Powledge, "DNA Research Gets Down to Business," *The Nation,* October 13, 1979]. Even some of its proponents have been troubled by the viciously competitive spirit newly abroad in science; one commentator said the Supreme Court decision could improve that situation because a scientist whose work was protected by patent might once again be willing to discuss that work freely with peers.

Critics are not likely to be so inclined to look on the bright side. They have seen the prospect of legislation to control one kind of genetic engineering (recombinant DNA, which was not involved in Chakrabarty's work) go from near certainty to oblivion; the patent dispute has been in some respects a last-ditch way of keeping the argument going. Nor is it completely over yet. There are some people who think the Court's decision that life forms themselves are patentable is less interesting than a pending patent application which, if approved, will allow Stanford and the University of California at San Francisco to patent not an organism (which might be put together in a variety of ways) but the process for achieving it (which might be intrinsically much more valuable).

Still, it is hard to read this decision as anything but a

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green light for genetic engineering. Burger said: "The choice we are urged to make is a matter of high policy for resolution within the legislative process after the kind of investigation, examination and study that legislative bodies can provide and courts cannot. Whatever their validity, the contentions now pressed on us should be addressed to the political branches of the Government, the Congress and the executive, and not to the courts." But the Congress's attention is elsewhere; in such a vacuum the Supreme Court decision—despite Burger's protestations—has, if only by default, determined "a matter of high policy."

Brock Friday

Friday the 13th is a notoriously inauspicious day to embark on new projects. But that didn't stop Ronald Reagan. He took the plunge and announced that Republican national chairman William Brock could stay on the job.

Reagan's announcement came two weeks after Senator Barry Goldwater inserted into the *Congressional Record* a vast amount of material on the Trilateral Commission, including a listing of the commission's Republican members that prominently included chairman Brock, and it followed only a few days behind Henry Kissinger's public endorsement of the Republican nominee.

The significance of Reagan's move will be clear to any reader of this week's cover story by Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers on the Trilateral Commission. Reagan has taken a giant step toward the Eastern liberal Republicans whom he defeated this spring and has begun to abandon his early conservative core supporters. But as Ferguson and Rogers suggest in their article, completed before the Reagan announcement, many barriers remain between the contending factions in the G.O.P. The current claims about party unity mislead.

There is no unity, and Reagan is no moderate. If he compromises his way into the White House, Friday, June 13, 1980, will be proven an unlucky day for America.

The C.O. 'Camps'

Senate passage of the draft registration appropriation bill may have set in motion a process that could threaten the civil liberties of thousands of young men—those who may declare themselves conscientious objectors in the event conscription becomes a reality again. If past experience is any guide, this could be as many as half of all registrants.

Senator Mark Hatfield, an opponent of registration, had introduced an amendment to the bill that would have allowed registrants to state, on the registration form, that they are conscientious objectors. Although the amendment was reported favorably by the Appropriations Committee, it was defeated on the Senate floor. While sparing the Pentagon the embarrassment of revealing the strength of anti-military sentiment among draft-age youth, the Senate action also makes it less likely that the consequences of reinstituting conscription will be properly studied at a time when careful reflection and anticipation are still possible.

In March, Representative Robert Kastenmeier released to the press an internal Selective Service report, dated September 21, 1979, anticipating that "enormous problems" would be presented by future conscientious objectors and recommending "complete rescission of the conscientious-objector exemption" or at least limiting it to "practicing members of religious sects that specifically prohibit participation in military service." (As a result of court challenges during the Vietnam War, conscientious objection on moral, as well as religious, grounds is permitted.) In the latter case, the decision of Selective Service would be final, not subject to appeal or review by any "agency, official, or court."

Selective Service officials disavowed the memorandum, stating that the recommendations "represent the personal opinions of the author," Maj. Donald Guritz, and "have not been acted on nor have they been used in our current planning." Actually, there is reason to believe that Selective Service has been preparing various kinds of harsh treatment for conscientious objectors for nearly a decade. Documents I obtained under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that Selective Service had in fact considered ways to implement one such plan without the knowledge or approval of Congress.

In October 1970, a Special Task Force on the problems of the C.O. Alternate Work Program, headed by Public Information Officer Kenneth Coffey, reported to Selective Service Director Curtiss Tarr that the number of conscientious objectors due to be given work assignments had risen sharply, from approximately 4,000 per month in January of that year to nearly 7,000 in August, yet the number of available, approved, alternate service jobs had remained constant at about 400 per month. (The number of applications for C.O. status was skyrocketing during this period of the Vietnam War. The National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors [NISBCO] estimates that about half of the 740,000 draft registrants from 1970 to 1972 applied for C.O. status, but only 10 percent of the 740,000 received the C.O. classification.)

The task force proposed a greatly expanded program of alternate service employment and a series of tighter administrative procedures. But these reforms would not solve the problem of "the ever-increasing number of non-cooperating C.O.s," i.e., those resisting Selective Service's efforts to place them in alternate service. For them the

COMING UP

"Moynihan Agonistes" by John Rosenberg; "The Crash of 1980" by Robert Lekachman; "Patriots and Scoundrels" by Bertram Gross; "Learning to Love CBW" by Jamie Kitman.

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task force proposed, first, "a motivational/orientation center, for which non-cooperating C.O.s and any others which the improved System is unable to place *could volunteer*. The purpose of the Center would be to test and evaluate, counsel, motivate and, hopefully, place in a position in the private economy."

What about the ones who wouldn't volunteer? The report says that even after setting up these centers, "there nevertheless should remain a residue of unplaceable young men, most of whom are still 'bucking the system,' yet willing to do the minimum activity necessary to avoid being referred for prosecution." For these men, the task force recommended "Work Force Programs." The first consideration for these was that they "should be located in areas with favorable judicial climates."

"The Committee recognizes the high political interest in such a work force program. Further, the Committee was reminded of rather severe Congressional opposition to this concept when last it was discussed, which was approximately 20 years ago. Nevertheless, the manpower of this group could represent a potential of significant value to the Nation if there are opportunities to utilize their skills in projects of high national priority."

The task force then considered the problem of how to fund the motivational/orientation centers and work force programs. Four methods were discussed: a system of "kickbacks" by well-paid C.O.s; selling the services of the C.O. work force to interested employers, such as other government agencies; cost sharing with other agencies or with groups outside government; or Congressional funding. The task force recommended the second option, selling the C.O. labor. They recommended that no approach be made to Congress, with the possible exception of a request for money to cover overhead and administrative expenses, and "if there is no other alternative [than to go to Congress], then the Committee recommends that the work force concept be abandoned and nonplaceable C.O.s be referred to U.S. attorneys for possible prosecution."

These proposals, particularly the one to establish the work force program with little or no advance notice to Congress, and with the ominous note of locating "in areas with favorable judicial climates," posed a grave threat to civil liberties. The first opposition was voiced when task force members discussed some of the details in an off-the-record meeting at Selective Service headquarters with NISBCO representatives. In private conversations later, members of the task force attempted to reassure leaders of pacifist religious denominations that these contingencies were not intended for their members, but rather for the "new" C.O.s, mainly black and poor, who did not share the religious pacifist tradition.

Shortly after the task force reported to Tarr, some details of the plan leaked to leaders of a Chicago-based national organization called Concerned Black Draft Counselors. They arranged to publicize the information, then confronted Selective Service representatives in a stormy meeting on Chicago's South Side. In a news release following that meeting, the black group charged that the orientation centers "were no less than concentration camps." (No documents about the "work force" part of the program had leaked out at that time, but the gist of the plan was clear from the admissions given by the Selective Service spokesmen, Col. William Holmberg and Capt. Joel Adams.)

Despite the growing opposition to the plan, the Director of Selective Service apparently planned to accept the initial task force report. On November 4, 1970, Tarr wrote to the American Friends Service Committee, defending it. He added, though, "I have not yet accepted the Task Force report. But I am not sure what should be done about alternative service, and as persuasive as I find your arguments to be, I am not entirely swayed by them." But by then word was spreading in the black community and anger was growing among civil rights forces. A few days later, Tarr backed down. On November 9, he wrote to NISBCO that "the subject of orientation centers and work force programs need not be pursued further." Coffey's revised report, dated November 25, 1970, is virtually identical with the initial report except for the deletions of those two programs.

Eventually the war ended and the draft was replaced by the all-volunteer army. The work force plan went no further than a small-scale pilot project in California. If the story had ended there we could all breathe a sigh of relief that one more Nixon-era scheme, spawned as a byproduct of the war in Indochina, happily aborted and was never heard from again. Unfortunately, that isn't so. Another Selective Service study of alternate service was prepared on August 18, 1977, by Col. David Mueller. Mueller proposed alternate service "stations" for conscientious objectors, generally along the lines of the original 1970 task force proposal.

Commenting on Mueller's 1977 plan, Guritz's 1979 report states, "It was seriously recommended that the Selective Service System establish ten regional alternate service 'stations' for conscientious objectors. It was felt that use of the word 'station' would avoid a mental association with concentration camps. However, this writer personally disagrees and recommends that Selective Service reject the notion of operating labor camps or stations for conscientious objectors." Instead he argued for "complete rescission" of C.O. status.

When Representative Kastenmeier released Guritz's report to the press, he noted that the Carter Administration has not specifically repudiated its recommendations. Nor, it should be added, has the Administration repudiated proposals for alternate service stations, or motivational/orientation centers, or work force camps. If a debate on the merits of these plans is postponed until the next wave of war hysteria, it may very well be too late to prevent Selective Service from enacting one of them. KEN LAWRENCE

Ken Lawrence, formerly on the staff of the American Friends Service Committee, is the director of the Anti-Repression Resource Team in Jackson, Mississippi. He is the author of a 1971 report to the White House Conference on Youth titled "Thirty Years of Selective Service Racism."

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VARIATIONS

CALVIN TRILLIN

Those who still do not believe there is a God in heaven have not heard the news that hot and sour soup and mushu pork may prevent heart disease. Over the past years, as tragedy and atrocity beset modern man, it has been easy to sympathize with the argument of the nonbelievers: If there is a just and merciful God and He is omnipotent, they say, how come there are so many triglycerides in Italian sausage? Why must a man who is trying to enjoy a simple plate of chopped liver be interrupted constantly by pure-food fanatics, one of whom is almost certainly his own wife, telling him that he is downing the equivalent of ground glass with schmaltz? Why has everything that tastes good been certified a killer? Now, it turns out, everything hasn't. There is a God in heaven. It is true that he may be Chinese and a bit on the enigmatic side, but He is there.

His messenger is Dr. Dale E. Hammerschmidt, a researcher at the University of Minnesota Medical School. In the *New England Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Hammerschmidt has described research leading to the theory that an ingredient common in certain Szechuan and Mandarin dishes—an ingredient called mu er or tree ears or tree fungus or black fungus—may remove fatty tissue that has built up on artery walls. Glory and Hallelujah should be said between bites of spiced Szechuan bean curd with garlic and scallions—which, as I interpret Dr. Hammerschmidt's findings, is the equivalent of penicillin that happens to taste good.

I have already dispatched a letter about Dr. Hammerschmidt to the Nobel committee. I assume they will be more responsive than they were several years ago when I tried to persuade them to award the Peace Prize to Mrs. Lisa Mosca of Mosca's restaurant in Waggaman, Louisiana, for her baked oysters. That year, they gave it to Kissinger instead.

In his journal article, Dr. Hammerschmidt wrote that he happened upon his discovery while trying to figure out why a patient's blood wasn't clotting, but I think he was being unduly modest. (Modesty was one of the attributes I mentioned in my letter to the Nobel folks.) The way I figure it, Dr. Hammerschmidt must be a man with more than a passing interest in mushu pork himself. As I imagine what must have happened, Hammerschmidt, an adventurous type, was beginning to push beyond the limits of the chop-suey joints around the campus to a couple of new Szechuan and Hunanese spots—out on what is usually referred to as the frontiers of science. Some of his more conservative colleagues—routine swallowers of egg foo young and chicken chow mein—were warning him off the best of the Szechuan restaurants merely because a professor of endocrinology happened to have keeled over there once or twice from the effects of MSG. Dr. Hammerschmidt, I figure, wanted to show up these pure-food yentas once and for all so he could enjoy his shredded spiced pork with green peppers in peace—and the rest is medical history. My tip-off was the dish he fed the control group: While his pals were feasting on the Szechuan hot bean curd, the controls were fed sweet and sour pork—a dreadful glop that is the sort of thing ordered in Chinese restaurants by my friend William Edgett Smith, the man with the Naugahyde palate.

I could hardly wait to bring the news of Dr. Hammerschmidt's discovery to my wife—who, it should be noted, has occasionally passed remarks that made it more difficult for me to enjoy a plate of chopped chicken liver, particularly if it happens to be my second or third plate. First, on the chance of acquiring the sort of independent confirmation scientists like, I went to Chinatown to see if mu er had any history as a folk medicine. In a supermarket on Mott Street, across from the amusement arcade where one can play tic-tac-toe against a live chicken, I found a package of black fungus imported from China. It said right on the package "possesses such effect as cleaning gastroenteric organs in human body"—a Chinese way of saying that a couple of bowls of hot and sour soup will make the inside of your arteries look like the finish on a brand-new Pontiac. After pausing on East Broadway for a therapeutic shot of mushu pork, I went home to tell my wife about Hammerschmidt's triumph.

"Black fungus?" she said, making it sound less than appetizing.

"Well, aureomycin is not the sort of word I'd use in a song lyric either," I said. "What we're talking about here is wonder drugs."

"Mmmmm," she said, apparently trying to sound appropriately inscrutable.

"If you're going to bring up that time I told you that barbecue sauce improves liver function," I said, "you should keep in mind that I later admitted the theory might be somewhat premature—just a bit before all the evidence was in."

"Evidence gathered by a taxi-driver in Memphis, as I remember," my wife said.

"I trust I did not detect the sound of elitism in that last remark," I said. "The taxi-driver happened to be experienced in the area scientists call clinical application."

"Mmmmm," she said again.

"I assume you read that article I pointed out in *The Times* showing that the anti-cholesterol maniacs have been a bit premature themselves," I said, "after they spent years snatching poached eggs out of the mouths of innocent children."

"The way I read that article, there is still some dispute," she said. "Also, I couldn't find any phrase that sounded like 'the curative powers of fetuccine Alfredo.' "

I thought of showing her my package of black fungus, but I knew she would just look skeptical—the way she did when I told her fried clams might improve muscle tone. I began to feel a kinship with Hammerschmidt—facing doubters out there on the frontiers of science. It occurred to me, in fact, that the two of us might work together. Our first experiment will be to test the beneficial effects of barbecue sauce—working with a grant from the National Liver Foundation. The control group will be fed green Jello.

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ARTICLES.

DARKNESS IN SEOUL

Park's Clone In South Korea

DONALD L. RANARD

The best that can be said of the current turbulence in South Korea is that it was predictable [see Ranard, "Seoul Brothers," *The Nation*, January 19]. The worst is that if Washington continues its present diplomacy toward Seoul, it will inevitably be confronted with another foreign policy debacle.

For the past three decades, U.S. policy toward Korea has had a dual objective: prevention of war on the Korean Peninsula and the development of a viable South Korea. Yet today, in the land where once the United States was determined to build a "showcase of democracy," there is greater tension and more instability than at any time since 1950.

President Carter now faces in Korea a foreign policy disaster that, unless reversed, could be greater in significance than Iran. The ugly photos in the American press of Korean paratroopers carrying M-16 rifles co-produced by Colt Industries in Pusan and of American M-45 tanks killing college students in Kwangju can only make the American public, on whose support the independence of South Korea ultimately rests, wonder who is the real enemy, where lies the major threat. No clearer illustration of the failure of American policy has been seen since the Korean War ended.

The portents of impending tragedy were discernible as early as last fall. At the time of the expulsion from the National Assembly of the leader of the opposition party, public restiveness with President Park Chung Hee's Government was mounting. In seven cities, students were stepping up their opposition and paying a heavy price in beatings and deaths.

Although censored by the Korean press, inadequately reported by American newsmen and downplayed by the State Department, these developments were assessed as so dangerous to internal stability that Korean Central Intelligence Agency chief Kim Jae Kyu assassinated his patron President Park in order to "restore democracy and minimize to the extent possible the sacrifice of the people."

Provided with the first real chance in years to help turn Korea around, the Carter Administration waffled. A deeply concerned but, with regard to Korea, misguided Secretary of State Cyrus Vance made equivocal public statements in response to Seoul's foot-dragging on constitutional reform and national elections. It was little wonder that the Korean military concluded that American policy under Carter, as it had under Nixon and Ford, still placed greater emphasis on national security than on human dignity. So it was no surprise that on December 12 the ominous Maj. Gen. Chon Too Huan seized the Government from the civilian caretakers and began the march that shortly led to gross brutality and bloodshed in Kwangju. Today, General Chon rules Korea with greater power than his assassinated benefactor.

Save for its determined effort to repel the North in 1950, American policy in Korea has been characterized by the diplomacy of "wait and see," which inevitably has resulted in "too little, too late." This was the pattern of the American response to Park's coup in 1961, and to each subsequent grab for power: the referendum to allow Park a third term in 1969, the inauguration of the dreaded Yushin Constitu-

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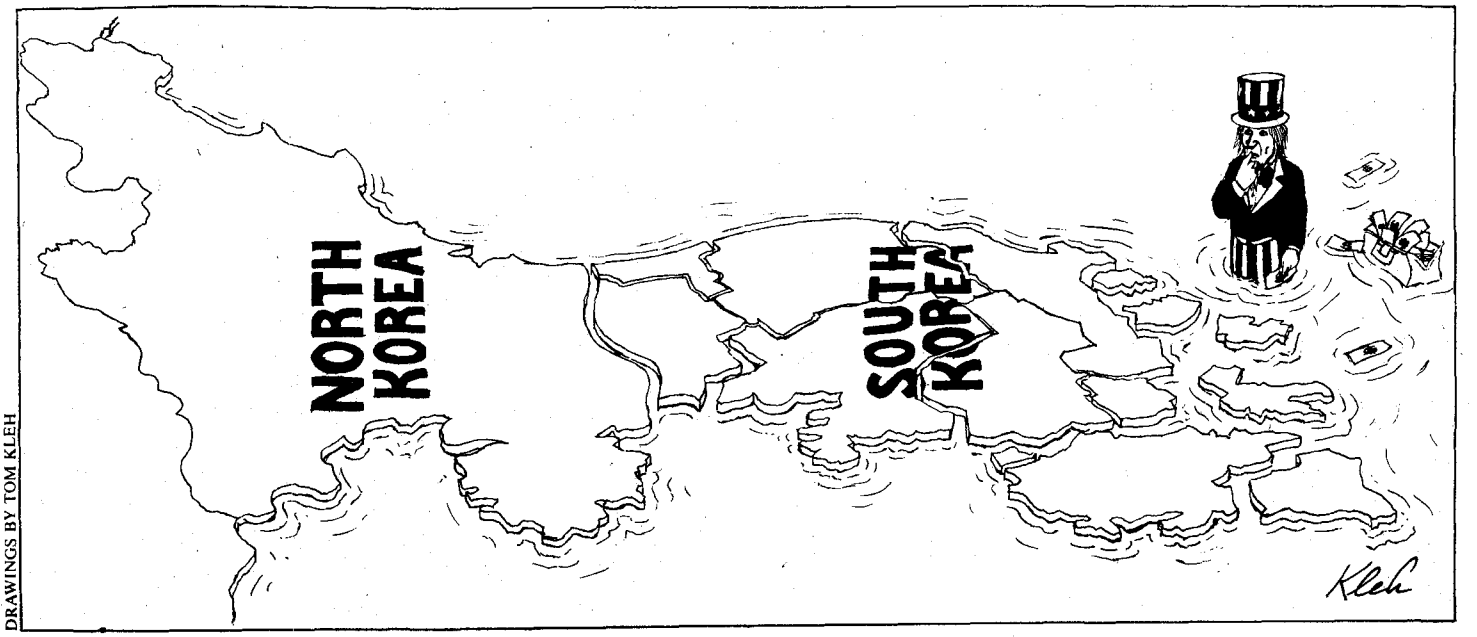

DRAWINGS BY TOM KLEH

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tion in 1972, the deliberate postponement of democratic reform after Park's assassination and the military coup of mid-December 1979.

Instead of reacting immediately and forthrightly to Chon Too Huan's seizure of power, which precipitated the Kwangju rebellion, Carter vacillated. According to reports from Seoul, the American ambassador waited for weeks before sending word to the Korean press that he had had only a few moments' notice of Chon's self-appointment as acting head of the K.C.I.A. The new Secretary of State, confronted by civil insurrection in a country intimately linked to U.S. security, was cautioned by his principal officer on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, against "issuing any hasty statements condemning the generals until the situation was clearer."

Clearer than what? From the moment the generals engineered Choi Kyu Ha's appointment as President under a Constitution which itself had been discredited, the handwriting had been on the wall. The analogies between 1961 and 1980 are so obvious that even the blind can discern the formula: a junta composed of myopic generals who intend to run political affairs like an army stockade and the economy like a quartermaster's depot; the appointment of corrupt leaders to cleanse the country of "ill-gotten fortunemakers" (who twenty years before rode in under a similar mandate); the same sterile interim military councils disengaged from both reason and public sentiment; the continued reliance on the North Korean threat to obfuscate the grab for power and, of course, repetitive charges that dissidents are Marxist-oriented. Even General Chon's self-promotion to three-star rank follows the pattern of Park Chung Hee's rapid self-advancement.

That the Korean military would react as they do can be understood. That our own State Department is making the same mistakes it made from 1961 on cannot.

The State Department's handling of the Korean crisis has a quality of panic before the magnitude of South Korea's internal instability, an almost paranoid fear about the North and a reflexive continuation of discredited policies. The United States, with 40,000 troops in Korea and a $3.1 million Export-Import Bank exposure, has no leverage on the generals, we are once more being told. But wasn't it candidate Carter who said that the United States had the political and economic clout to bring about democratic change in Korea? Are we really to believe that sending the chairman of the Ex-Im Bank to Seoul at this precarious time to negotiate more credits is the best way to bring the generals to their senses?

Admittedly, the Korean dilemma is complex. It has defied solution, many feel, largely because the United States neglected to give human rights the importance that most South Koreans placed on them. Where are the specialists in the State Department today who understand these fundamental aspirations of the Korean people? At a time when Washington emphasizes the significance of Korea to Asian security, the Carter Administration cannot point to a single officer with Korean experience in the department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs above the level of desk officer. For the first time in twenty years, of the five principal officers in that bureau (i.e., Deputy Assistant Secretary and above) now attempting to deal with this enormous crisis, none have served with a diplomatic mission in Korea, where they could have experienced first-hand the depth of the Korean people's yearning for democracy. Nor, for that matter, have any of them had significant political experience in China or Japan, which have large collateral interests in the stability of the peninsula.

"What ideas do you have?" the head of Korean affairs in the State Department earnestly besieges the press and outside authorities, but then refuses to ponder how we came to our current dilemma. But until the State Department is prepared to recognize that Koreans will never be content with economic progress gained at the expense of political freedom—both from their own military as well as from the North—there is little hope that the United States will achieve internal security in the Land of the Morning Calm or on the peninsula either. □

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

Who Compensates The Victims?

RONALD BROWNSTEIN

Washington

Rick Hunter (this is not his real name), a Vietnam veteran, is a casualty not only of war but also of the chemical age. Since returning from Vietnam, he has suffered from a rash on his arms, headaches and numbness in his legs. Most of all, he suffers for his daughter. She was born with spina bifida, a deformity of the base of the spine, and in the first seven years of her life has had fifteen operations. He has spent more than $70,000 on medical bills for himself and his daughter. He is convinced that their problems are caused by his exposure in Vietnam to Agent Orange, a 50-50 mix of the herbicides 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D, used as a defoliant. Inevitably, 2,4,5-T is contaminated with dioxin, one of the deadliest substances ever synthesized.

If Rick Hunter had been shot or hit by shrapnel, he would be eligible for up to $889 in monthly benefits from the Veterans Administration. To date, he hasn't received any aid from the V.A.

Beth Catalan is a casualty of another kind. She was born, and still lives, in St. George, Utah, a speck of a place east of the Nevada Test Site used by the Atomic Energy Commission in the 1950s and early 1960s to test nuclear weapons. She will never forget the blasts: "Early in the morning they would set them off and the flash would wake us up. Then

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the ground would tremble and the windows would rattle. And they would tell us to stay inside, that there wasn't any danger."

These assurances proved tragically empty. In 1964, Beth's father died of leukemia. Several years later her sister "just literally quit breathing" one day—perhaps from a combination of a toxic goiter and asthma—and died. Beth has never been able to have children. No one in her family has received any compensation from the Government.

These stories are not unique. Even with the increasing awareness of the hazards of radiation and toxic chemicals and the growing understanding of the environmental roots of many diseases, victims of environmental pollution find it difficult—often impossible—to receive compensation for their illnesses.

Of the 1,233 Vietnam veterans who have filed claims with the V.A. for medical problems ranging from cancer to skin rashes to sexual dysfunctions that they attribute to Agent Orange, only two have been compensated—and these for chloracne, a severe skin disease that appears as an acute symptom of dioxin poisoning. V.A. Administrator Max Cleland told a Congressional committee in February that "there is currently no medical basis upon which adverse health effects of late-post-exposure onset can be reasonably tied to Agent Orange." (His comments came almost one year to the day after the Environmental Protection Agency issued an emergency ban on the use of 2,4,5-T.) Children of veterans born with birth defects are not eligible for any aid.

Uranium miners—who are suffering through an epidemic of lung cancer brought on by their exposure to radon daughters in the mines—have been denied workmen's compensation in most cases, according to Dr. Victor Archer, one of the nation's pre-eminent authorities on cancer in this occupational group. An overwhelming percentage of veterans exposed to radiation in nuclear tests have had their claims turned down. The Department of Labor estimates only 3 to 5 percent of the two million victims of occupational disease receive any form of workmen's compensation. [See Mark Reutter, "The Shame of Workmen's Comp," *The Nation*, March 15.] There isn't even any kind of aid available to the residents of St. George, where increased rates of leukemia have been detected, or of Love Canal, New York, where leaking toxic wastes have created a plague of illnesses. If they take their case to court, they are likely to find, as one Congressional report put it, that "the burdens of proof are difficult, the outcomes uncertain and immediate relief impossible."

Whether in hearing rooms or the courts, the major barriers to compensation are the issue of causation and the long latency period of many environmentally caused diseases, particularly cancer, which means that in some states, the statute of limitations alone precludes many claims. And for those that remain, the requirement that a single causative agent be definitively isolated out of a sea of environmental pollutants can be insurmountable.

"The problem is that the evidence in most cases is simply not overwhelming," says Dr. David Rall, the director of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences. "So that allows other motivations to take over. If you are compassionate toward the victim you tend to think, 'Well, there is some evidence, so they obviously ought to be compensated.' If you're concerned about setting a precedent and costing oodles of money, you say, 'Oh my, there may be a cause, but I don't really think they ought to be compensated.' "

In this atmosphere of uncertainty, environmentalists view the cases of radiation victims, uranium miners and Vietnam veterans as crucial tests because of the Government's involvement. "Radiation is one of the most important procedural concerns because this is a Federally sponsored activity. They did keep records . . . and there is not as fuzzy a line as to who is going to pay," says Bob Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Center in Washington, D.C. "And if the Federal Government doesn't come through, what expectations can you have in terms of their making private industry do it?"

Congress is considering various plans to make the Federal Government come through. Senators Edward Kennedy (Democrat of Massachusetts) and Orrin Hatch (Republican of Utah)—an unlikely combination—have introduced legislation to make the Federal Government liable for claims from both atomic-testing fallout victims and uranium miners (for several years the A.E.C. was the sole uranium contractor). Another bill for uranium-miner compensation has been introduced by Republican Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico, and Democratic Representative Gunn McKay of Utah has proposed a bill for radiation victims. There is legislation in both houses for compensating Agent Orange victims, and bills for asbestos and cotton workers on the way. For the fourth consecutive year, Senators Harrison Williams (Democrat of New Jersey) and Jacob Javits (Republican of New York) have proposed an overhaul of the entire workmen's compensation system and the establishment of minimum Federal standards.

Even as these legislative measures are being debated, many victims are pursuing redress in the courts. Former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall is representing civilian fallout victims, military personnel harmed by nuclear tests and uranium miners in three separate suits against the Federal Government. "The big question hanging out there," says Udall, "is whether the Government is willing to face up to the horror of what was done and respond in a compassionate way. We're not getting anything at this point except the usual all-out defense from the Justice Department." New York environmental attorney Victor Yannacone, taking a different tack, has brought a potential landmark class-action suit against five corporations—including Dow Chemical and Monsanto—that manufactured Agent Orange and sold it to the Government for use in Vietnam.

To tackle the problem of proving causation, each of the Congressional bills would shift the burden of proof off the victim and establish presumptions—and in some cases irrebuttable presumptions—that certain illnesses were the result of exposure to particular pollutants. The Kennedy-Hatch bill, for example, would make the Government presump-

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tively liable to fallout victims suffering from leukemia, thyroid cancer, bone cancer, or any other diseases identified by an expert advisory panel; uranium miners would be compensated for lung cancer, pulmonary fibrosis and other diseases named by the panel.

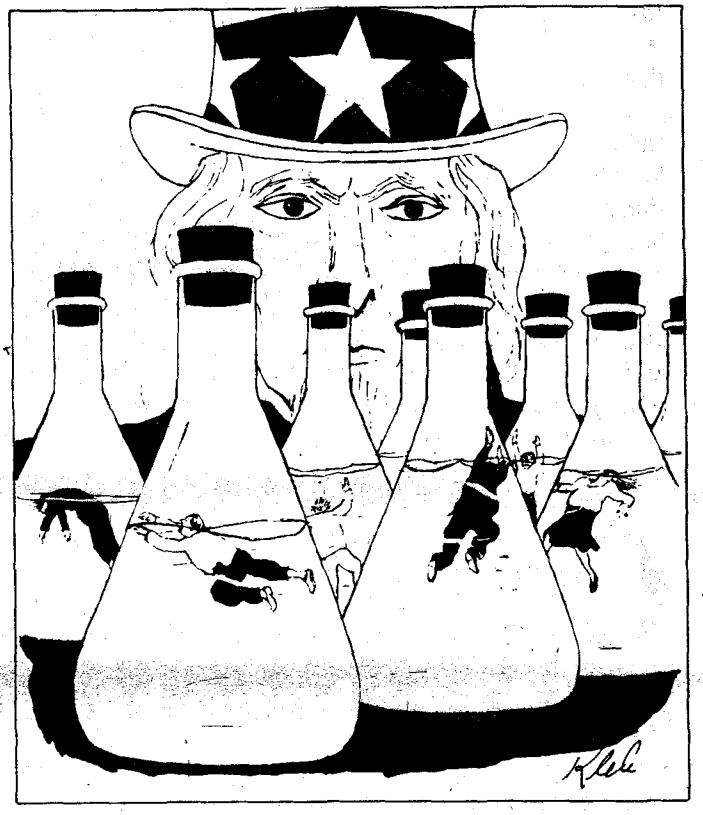
At the other end of the spectrum, the Agent Orange bills —which veterans' groups support because they clear away procedural obstacles—would still leave it to the V.A. to define which illnesses are "presumed" to be caused by exposure in Vietnam. "At present, the V.A. says there is no scientific evidence saying *anything* is due to Agent Orange," claims one Senate aide. "So they'd just publish a list with nothing on it."

Congress has dealt with breakdowns in the compensation system before, most notably with the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. That established the benefits program for coal miners suffering from black lung, a progressive, lung-scarring disease. The program now includes payments to approximately 450,000 miners, widows and dependents from both the Federal Government and an industrywide trust fund.

Although the particulars of the current plans vary on who will be eligible, whether compensation will be awarded through the courts or an administrative process and who will decide which diseases qualify, the bills all have something in common: none of them have moved very far during the first half of the Congressional session. "The bottom line of this whole thing is liability, and they don't want to open the floodgates," says an aide to Democratic Representative David Bonior of Michigan, the sponsor of the House Agent Orange bill. Beth Catalan thinks that "they just cannot afford to admit that they are morally responsible."

There are other reasons for the resistance. Paying for what Udall calls "the human wreckage" of past environmental recklessness will not be cheap: as many as 50,000 uranium miners could be covered, tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians were possibly affected by fallout, and the General Accounting Office reported last fall that many more soldiers were exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam than the Department of Defense had previously acknowledged. "D.O.D. considered herbicide orange to be a low health hazard," wrote the G.A.O., "and took few precautions to prevent troops' exposure to it."

And although these compensation bills would cover only specific periods—miners in the 1950s and 1960s, residents of certain counties during nuclear testing—they would significantly affect current thinking about "permissible" levels of exposure to radiation and toxic chemicals. The measured level of radiation for communities downwind from the nuclear test area was *below* the existing level of exposure for nuclear power plant workers. Although there are complicating factors—Udall notes, for example, that the radiation from the tests entered the food chain—compensating people harmed by the fallout "would have a profound impact on occupational exposure," predicts Arthur Tamplin, a scientist with the Natural Resources Defense Council. (Hearings by the E.P.A. and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission on the current standard are underway.) Likewise, compensating



Vietnam veterans hurt by Agent Orange would influence the cases of those exposed to 2,4,5-T in the United States.

Yannacone's Agent Orange suit makes this connection explicit. It calls not only for the creation of a trust fund financed by the chemical companies to compensate Agent Orange victims (and to reimburse the Government for any claims it pays out) but also for a complete ban on any product containing dioxin (such as 2,4,5-T). The suit also asks the court to take the unprecedented step of declaring the companies "trustees of the public health, safety and welfare." This would require the corporations to disclose information about product hazards as soon as they discover it or else face punitive damages as well as the cost of compensating future victims. "We're not telling them how to run their companies," says Yannacone. "We're just telling them to do it right or face rather substantial penalties."

The Agent Orange suit is both massive and complex, with the potential for setting broad precedents in the application of Federal common law to toxic exposures. It already involves several thousand veterans, and damages from this group alone could run into the billions. Facing that kind of potential liability—not to mention the groundwork for other claims and the court-declared trusteeship—lawyers for the chemical companies have fought back, arguing that the cases should be tried individually in state courts and be limited to medical expenses, not damages. Although they have continued to claim that Agent Orange is not responsible for the veterans' ailments, in January the companies hedged their bets and brought suit against the Government to make it responsible for any damages they might be forced to pay.

For all its innovativeness, Yannacone's suit will not bring any immediate, or even short-term, relief. With the chemical

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companies likely to challenge the veterans' right to sue in Federal court all the way to the Supreme Court, a Yannacone associate says the case "might see a courtroom by the end of this year." Litigation over the amount of damages, assuming the plaintiffs prevail, could go on for years, he adds.

The prospects for quick legislative action are mixed. Sponsors of the Agent Orange compensation bills were discouraged, but their case was strengthened by Representative Bonior's recent unearthing of what appears to be an internal V.A. memorandum linking Agent Orange to birth defects. Hearings on the Kennedy-Hatch bill were held June 10, but the Justice Department testified against the bill. Any major reform of workmen's compensation appears unlikely since state compensation boards have strongly opposed it and its principal sponsor, Senator Williams, has had other things to worry about since the Federal Bureau of Investigation's ABSCAM scandal broke.

After many delays, a number of studies are underway—an interagency panel on radiation victims has just handed over a report to the President; the V.A. is designing a major epidemiological study of Vietnam veterans; the President has established an interagency work group on Agent Orange—but those waiting for a definitive link upon which to base compensation may be disappointed. "Even the best effort of which our scientists are capable may not produce such conclusive results," Joan Bernstein, the general counsel of the Department of Health and Human Services and head of the interagency group on Agent Orange, testified recently. "In short, we may be left, after the research is done, with many of the same social policy issues we face today."

Continuing to wait could be disastrous. The V.A. has refused numerous requests to conduct outreach programs to inform veterans about Agent Orange because, as one spokesperson put it, "We felt that it would cause undue alarm." Though it is official V.A. policy to treat veterans who complain of Agent Orange symptoms, Vietnam Veterans of America, a national veterans' organization, has received complaints from veterans across the country who have been "literally turned away or told that it is in their head," says Joan McCarthy, the group's Agent Orange coordinator. Uranium miners have had similar experiences with their illnesses.

Understanding that compensation is as much a political as a scientific problem is essential to developing an effective, humane response, both for those already victimized and for those who may face danger in the future. It was public awareness and political pressure, as much as medical fact, that have, in the past, forced the Government to enact programs in this area; in all likelihood it will take a similar kind of effort to push through the latest batch of legislation and overall reform of the compensation systems.

"The whole issue of compensation as a hedge against abusing people by technology is really going to become an enormous problem as the decade unfolds," says Alvarez. In other words, if Government and (as is more often the case) corporate officials know that they are going to pay heavy restitution to victims, they may be less likely to expose people to possibly hazardous substances in the first place.

"We ought to try to develop a consensus that if there is some level of evidence, then there ought to be some effort toward compensation," adds Dr. Rall. "Compensation delayed is ineffective compensation. That is really the crux of the matter."

In their day-to-day dealings with veterans, Steve Champlin and McCarthy of Vietnam Veterans of America are probably even closer to the crux than Dr. Rall. "Compensation delayed," Champlin was saying one morning in the group's Washington office, "means divorces, means the veterans will lose control of their lives for five or six years. When you finally get around to a compensation policy, where are they going to be? Sick, hard-core unemployed . . ."

McCarthy looked up from a pile of letters sent by sick or frightened veterans and finished his thought: "Or else they'll be dead." □

MONETARIST REPRESSION

Brazil Spends Its Way to the Guardhouse

PENNY LERNOUX

Brazil's *abertura* (opening) policy of tentative political liberalization has been overridden by the demands of foreign banks and multinational corporations. Only a year after President Joâo Baptista Figueiredo announced his political *abertura*, military hard-liners have reverted to form, violently repressing a metalworkers' strike in the industrial outskirts of Sâo Paulo. The backlash is symptomatic of military nervousness over runaway inflation, the highest foreign debt in the Third World and foreign bankers' reluctance to extend more loans to Government enterprises unless the Brazilians pay scalpers' interest rates.

Of $15 billion in loans needed by Brazil this year, the South American giant will be lucky if it gets $7 billion to roll over its $52 billion foreign debt. The Government already has been forced to use $2 billion of the country's foreign reserves for debt financing because of bankers' doubts that economic czar Antonio Delfim Neto can simultaneously stem an annual 84 percent inflation rate while promoting economic growth and political liberalization.

The architect of Brazil's so-called "economic miracle," Delfim Neto, is gambling his political future on a repeat of

Penny Lernoux, The Nation's Latin American correspondent, is the author of the recently released Cry of the People *(Doubleday), a survey of the role the Catholic Church has played in political change in Latin America.*

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the economy's performance in the early 1970s, when annual growth rates of 10 percent were achieved with relatively moderate inflation. But internal and external conditions are very different today. Dependent on foreign oil for 85 percent of its consumption, Brazil will have to spend at least $12 billion on petroleum imports this year, in addition to $10 billion in other "essential" imports. Even with record soybean and coffee harvests, Brazil is expected to end the year with a $4.5 billion trade deficit.

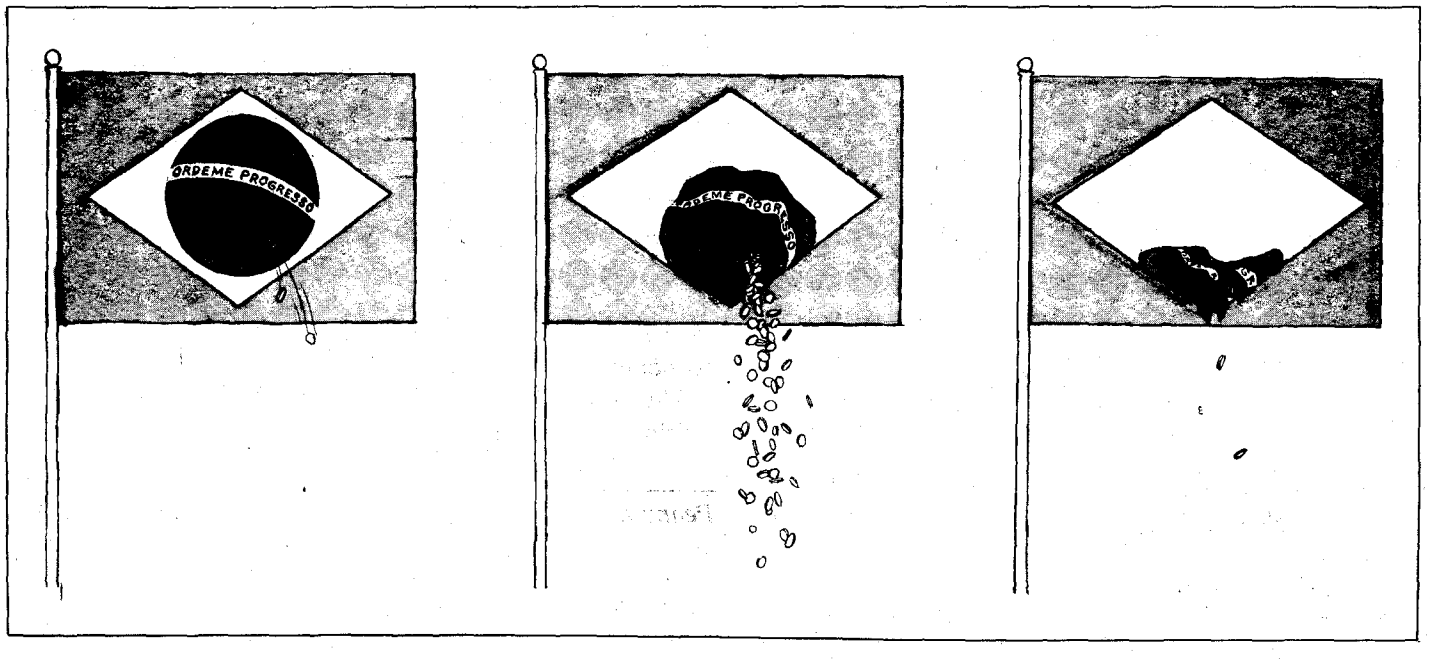
Oil imports are only one, and by no means the principal, source of Brazil's financial plight, as Finance Minister Karlos Rischbieter bluntly told General Figueiredo. Rischbieter contends that Brazil is stuck on a debt treadmill, thanks to excessive foreign borrowing by state enterprises and multinational corporations, which together dominate the economy. In support of his argument, he points out that interest and loan repayments between 1974 and 1979 accounted for $30.5 billion of Brazil's balance of payments deficit, compared to a cumulative deficit from imports, including oil, of slightly half that amount. Half the payments made on the foreign debt, or $15 billion, went for net interest.

If Brazil continues its spendthrift ways, warns Rischbieter, it will need to raise $29.8 billion abroad next year and an incredible $57.5 billion in 1984. According to his figures, the cost of servicing the debt in 1984 will be $25.4 billion, or 93 percent of the country's estimated exports that year! Brazil has reached the point, observes economist Joelmir Betting, where "it will never repay the debt, only administer it." And the price of "administration" goes up every year. Since the summer of 1979, the London interbank offered rate, which determines the interest costs Brazil pays on the bulk of its debt, has gone up by 8 percent, adding $4 billion to the country's interest bill.

Unaccustomed to such gloomy talk, the generals sacked Rischbieter last January, giving his powers to the glib Delfim Neto, who also controls the Planning and Agriculture Ministries, the central bank and the federal budget. But Delfim Neto's ascendancy has not reassured international bankers, who privately agree with Rischbieter's figures. As one New York banker pointed out, "Everybody knows Delfim Neto wants to be the next President of Brazil." Not a few Brazilian economists and businessmen note that the "superminister" helped bring on the mess the last time he was economic czar by promoting an export-oriented development model dependent on foreign corporations and banks. He is also remembered in banking and trade union circles for having rigged the inflation rate for 1973 in order to deprive workers of legally required wage increases. The Government was later forced to admit that it had falsely reported a 14 percent inflation rate when the real figure was 26.6 percent. That was after a team from the International Monetary Fund investigated the Finance Ministry's books. A similar attempt to cook the books is now underway through the elimination of oil-related price rises from the cost of living index. But with prices soaring to historic heights, even this sleight of hand will not enable Delfim Neto to fulfill earlier promises to reduce this year's inflation to 45 percent and close the trade gap.

On the other hand, foreign banks, particularly U.S. ones, are so heavily exposed in Brazil that they cannot afford to allow the Government to go under. That, at least, was the Minister's message, as he blustered his way from New York to Washington on a recent—and unsuccessful—fund-raising trip that did nothing to improve Brazil's credit rating. (In a 1979 *Business International* survey of bankers and businessmen on the economic prospects of the nations of the world, Brazil scored 55 out of a possible 100 points—only slightly better than Peru, which was on the edge of bankruptcy two years ago.) U.S. bankers are in for at least $13.4 billion, according to the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, making Brazil their biggest debtor in the Third World. U.S. multinational corporations have invested $6 billion in Brazil, the largest foreign investment after those of Canada, Great Britain, West Germany and France.

It goes without saying that labor will be the first to suffer



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in the current economic crunch. While Delfim Neto made some fine-sounding statements about labor rights at the beginning of the *abertura* last year, such promises have faded under inflationary pressures and the Government's need to stay on the right side of the multinational corporations during difficult negotiations with the banks. Not that labor ever believed his blandishments: it was Delfim Neto, after all, who decreed that real wages be sacrificed to the "economic miracle." (Real wages have steadily declined since the military seized power in 1964, but by far the biggest drop occurred between 1967 and 1973, when Delfim Neto was Minister of Finance.)

Traditionally dominated by hard-liners, the Brazilian military reluctantly agreed to political liberalization last year because of combined pressure from the Brazilian banking and industrial sectors and a widespread consensus that the generals could no longer contain union, political and student activities. The theory was that it was better to "guide" the country into some type of formal democracy that would preserve the structures of power than to confront a rash of strikes and peasant uprisings (which happened anyway). But with the exception of a minority of officers, the military never really accepted *abertura*, and throughout the process of liberalization there has been an undercurrent of repression, particularly in less industrialized areas like the Amazon basin and the Northeast.

The multinational corporations that dominate Brazilian industry and agribusiness have taken a similar hard line, since cheap labor is the principal factor in the handsome profits of their Brazilian subsidiaries. Although four-fifths of the country's forty-five million workers are for all intents unorganized, strong unions have arisen in agricultural areas in the Northeast and in the industrial hubs to the south, particularly São Paulo. Supported by opposition political parties, the outlawed but active National Union of Students and the country's powerful Catholic bishops, these unions mounted nearly 300 illegal, largely successful strikes last year, destroying much of the regime's elaborate system of labor checks, including a ban on collective bargaining. Efforts to form a workers' political party by the popular São Paulo labor leader Luís Inácio (Lula) da Silva have added to military unease.

Numerous studies, including an investigation by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, have shown that the oligopolistic structure of Brazilian industry is the chief cause of high prices (as much was admitted by the heads of two conglomerates during recent interviews on Brazilian television). But for Delfim Neto to accept this fact would be to renounce the entire course of development since 1964, in which he has played such a large role. With inflation heating up in the first quarter of the year, such semi-official economic institutions as Rio's Getúlio Vargas Foundation are once again blaming labor demands for the rise in the cost of living. It is an easy—and classically monetarist—out for Delfim Neto that happens to coincide with military misgivings about the growing political power of labor.

Hence, when the first major test of strength occurred this year, in an April strike by 155,000 metalworkers against the São Paulo industrial plants of U.S. and European automobile makers, the Government cracked down. Thirty-four people were arrested, including Lula and two lawyers belonging to the São Paulo Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission. Police injured fifty-four during an attack on a labor meeting in early May at which the strikers reaffirmed their determination to continue the stoppage. General Figueiredo publicly accused São Paulo's Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns of "inciting the strike" because the archdiocese had authorized the workers' use of churches as meeting places. Meanwhile, in the state of Minas Gerais, the local army commander was ordered to break a teachers' strike. In rural areas, where police and military violence is frequently gratuitous, several hundred land conflicts are in progress. Striking unions have been enjoined by the Government, and the military has announced its intention to charge thirteen of those arrested in São Paulo, including Lula, for "incitement to collective disobedience," an offense punishable with up to twelve years' imprisonment. But the surest sign of renewed repression is the revival of Brazil's notorious death squad, which murdered 160 people in the first three months of this year.

"If the politicians don't play ball, the playing around will be over," Figueiredo has warned the political opposition. With congressional elections looming in 1982, it is no empty threat. Figueiredo's predecessor, Gen. Ernesto Geisel, also promised an *arbertura* (known as "decompression" in those days), but it all turned out to be so many words when Geisel closed the congress six months before the 1978 congressional elections.

Big Oil's State Tax Loophole

JONATHAN ROWE

Seven of the world's largest oil companies shared the distinction of paying a lower rate of state income tax in 1978 than a typical taxpayer making $16,000 annually the year before (see chart). Yet now the big oil companies and other multinational corporations want their state taxes cut still further. They are waging an intense, low-key lobbying campaign in Congress for legislation, sponsored by Senator Charles Mathias and Representatives Barber Conable and James Jones, that would do just that.

The bill (S. 1688, HR. 5076) would virtually prohibit the states from taxing any of the dividends a multinational corporation received from its foreign subsidiaries. This huge loophole would apply even to dividends the oil companies received from Aramco, their Saudi Arabian consortium. A

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recent Supreme Court case gives a rare glimpse at what actually lies beneath this proposal, which the lawyers usually obfuscate in the jargon of tax theory.

The case concerned the Mobil Oil Corporation and the state of Vermont. Vermont thought that Mobil should pay the relatively modest sum of $76,000 on sales of $27 million for the three years 1970 to 1972—not an outrageous tax bill. Mobil's lawyers weren't satisfied, however. They wanted to reduce the company's bill to the grand total of $1,871.90 on the ground that Vermont was taxing "foreign income." The Supreme Court told Mobil, in effect, "Nothing doing."

Under the Mathias-Conable-Jones bill, however, Mobil would win. It would have paid to Vermont three years' taxes totaling about $2,000—one-eighth of the current price of a single full-page advertisement in *The Washington Post*. Or, looking at it another way, two-tenths of 1 percent of the $1-million-plus annual salary of Mobil's president William Tavoulareas.

The bill also would strip the states of their most promising tool for distinguishing a company's "foreign" income, which they cannot tax, from its U.S. income, which they can. As commerce becomes increasingly multinational, this is emerging as the frontier problem in tax administration. It is devilishly complex, and the multinationals want to keep it that way. [See Rowe, "Tax Dodging at the State Level," *The Nation*, April 15, 1978.] A company like Mobil is set up as a lawyer's maze of more than 200 separate subsidiaries, located hither and yon. Trying to tell how much of the income of this corporate organism is attributable to Oregon or Canada or Massachusetts or the Netherlands Antilles is akin to trying to tell how much of the hop on Nolan Ryan's fast ball is attributable to the pitcher's legs, back, shoulders, or arm.

Several states, moving beyond the more sluggish Feds, have developed a simple formula approach, called the unitary method. This method cuts through the intricate accounting arrangements by which a multinational corporation can divert its income to the books of subsidiaries in tax havens such as the Bahamas and the Netherland Antilles. The Supreme Court has consistently upheld it as a reasonable way for a government to distinguish between U.S. and foreign income. And so the companies turned to Congress to get it banned.

Their aim is for the states—and the Federal Government—to treat them like Mom-and-Pop stores. They want tax auditors to have to work their way through the tangle of transactions among a Mobil corporation's 200-plus subsidiaries, invoice by invoice. This would require them to second-guess what the prices of these transactions would have been if the subsidiaries were independent businesses. The paperwork and bureaucracy are enormous. And with tax-haven countries like the Bahamas tightening up their bank secrecy laws, untangling the mess may become well-nigh impossible.

Banning the unitary method would cost California alone more than $500 million. Half of that amount would go to multinational oil companies, which just received a tax bonanza from California's Proposition 13—a total cut of $42 million in Los Angeles County alone—not to mention oil price decontrol.

AVERAGE STATE/LOCAL INCOME TAX RATE—1977/78

Individuals 1977

Income	Tax Rate
$32,000	2.9%
$16,000	1.8%

Oil Companies 1978

Phillips	1.6%	Exxon	0.7%
Shell	1.6%	Standard Indiana	0.6%
Texaco	1.5%	Continental	0.3%
Mobil	1.5%		

Source: A.C.R., *Tax Notes*

Worse, the Mathias-Conable-Jones bill would amount to a new preference for companies that invest abroad instead of adding to plant and productivity in the United States. The corporate bleeding of the U.S. economy is becoming a hemorrhage. Figures recently released by the Commerce Department show that U.S. companies are stepping up their capital investment in foreign countries by 26 percent, while their investment here will grow by only 11 percent. The Mathias, et al. bill would give aid and comfort to this America-last trend.

Furthermore, the bill would subtract hundreds of millions of dollars from state revenues at a time when many states are in fiscal straits. It would deprive oil-consuming states in particular of their rightful share of the oil-profit bounty for which their citizens are paying.

The basic problem is that Congress has been listening too much to the legal theorizing of corporate lawyers and to selected, self-serving corporate anecdotes. Instead, it should get the facts. It should subpoena the state tax returns of a sample of large companies to put their complaints of overtaxation to the test. "I will bet you," North Dakota's combative Tax Commissioner, Byron Dorgan, told the House Ways and Means Committee, "that you will find, in nine cases out of ten, substantial amounts of unreported income." Mobil might prefer not to advertise the results of such an audit in *The Washington Post*. □

Trilateral

(Continued From Front Cover)

Only in such a context can the real Trilateral story be told: why the commission emerged under Nixon, came to power with Carter, and now must contend with the rise of Ronald Reagan.

In August 1971, Richard Nixon shattered the foreign economic policy consensus that had guided the United States for more than a generation. Despite constant opposition and mounting costs at home, U.S. policy since the close of World War II had promoted the liberalization of the world

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economy. Free trade, the integration of once restrictive economic blocs and global U.S. military authority were the Holy Trinity of the postwar system. As its chief architect, America was also the system's chief beneficiary. The United States' overwhelming postwar economic power assured that it would benefit from the free flow of goods and capital, as did American dominance of the international monetary institutions and arrangements that eased the growth and flow of trade.

But with the revival of the world economy, strains in the system began to appear. The aggressive export policies of Western Europe and Japan wounded American domestic enterprise. The export of capital to these more profitable regions by international banks and multinational corporations drained investment from the home economy. And the fabulous costs of maintaining the U.S. military empire seriously strained the American balance of payments and ultimately the entire international monetary system. Imports flooded U.S. markets. In 1971 the first absolute trade deficit in recent U.S. history appeared.

Nixon responded with his controversial New Economic Policy (N.E.P.). He unilaterally devalued the dollar and suspended its convertibility to gold. He heated up the trade wars by imposing a 10 percent surcharge on virtually all U.S. imports. He made blunt requests to Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan that they slow the tide of textiles surging into the United States and pressured Japan and Western Europe to relax accumulated trade barriers, thus permitting greater U.S. access to their domestic markets.

For harassed domestic producers, the N.E.P. was welcome relief and prudent policy. But for multinationalists who had continued to profit from the liberal system, it represented the crudest sort of nativist regress. Such prominent free traders as C. Fred Bergsten, Philip Trezise and J. Robert Schaetzel deserted the Administration for posts at the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations, and Nixon was denounced by virtually all of the "responsible" press. Writing in the council journal *Foreign Affairs* a few months after the inauguration of the N.E.P., Bergsten made clear the depth of multinational reaction:

> In the summer of 1971, President Nixon and Secretary Connally revolutionized U.S. foreign economic policy. In so doing, they promoted a protectionist trend which raises questions about the future of the U.S. economy at least as fundamental as those raised by the abrupt adoption of wage-price controls. In so doing, they have also encouraged a disastrous trend which raises questions about the future of U.S. foreign policy. . . . Both the U.S. economy and U.S. foreign policy for the relevant future hang in the balance.
>
> [Nixon] violated the letter and the spirit of the reigning international law in both monetary and trade fields. . . . The new economic policy went much too far. It set impossible objectives, both quantitatively and qualitatively. . . . It is wrong for the American economy. . . . It courts disaster for U.S. global interests.

Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers are members of the political science departments at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Rutgers University, respectively.

Ever alert to the subjective moment in history, David Rockefeller sprang into action. Early in 1972 he began circulating ideas for a new association of transnational elites with a stake in continued world economic integration. Drawing its membership from the United States, Western Europe and Japan, the triad of great capitalist powers, the association would promote intercapitalist cooperation in the face of mounting protectionist challenge. A commission document later summarized Rockefeller's concern:

> [T]he overriding goal is to make the world safe for interdependence, by protecting the benefits which it provides for each country against the external and internal threats which will constantly emerge from those willing to pay a price for more national autonomy. This may sometimes require slowing the pace at which interdependence proceeds, and checking some aspects of it. More frequently, however, it will call for checking the intrusion of national governments into the international exchange of both economic and non-economic goods.

Broaching the idea at a meeting of the Bilderberg Commission (a largely Western European business group that still awaits its first *Washington Post* feature article), Rockefeller received encouragement from Bendix chairman Michael Blumenthal and others. By July, he was presiding over a meeting at his Pocantico estate of core participants in the new project. Among the Americans present were George Franklin, a longtime official of the Council on Foreign Relations; Brookings Foreign Policy Studies director Henry Owen; Brookings senior fellow Bergsten; Ford Foundation president McGeorge Bundy; Council on Foreign Relations chairman Bayless Manning, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Among those prominent Europeans and Japanese attending were Karl Carstens, now President of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Kiichi Miyazawa, member of the Japanese Diet and former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Within a year, the commission was officially launched. Initially funded by Rockefeller alone, the organization soon broadened its financial base. Support later came from a variety of other individuals (including David Packard of Hewlett-Packard and George Franklin), corporations (General Motors, Caterpillar Tractor, Deere, Exxon, Honeywell, Cargill, Cummins Engine, Kaiser Resources, Bechtel, Weyerhauser, Texas Instruments, Coca-Cola, Time Inc., CBS, Wells Fargo Bank) and foundations (Kettering, Ford, Volkswagenwerk, Lilly Endowment, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, German Marshall Fund, Sumitomo).

Although Canadians now play a larger role, and changing conflicts in the world economy have driven some corporations away, the basic institutional structure of the commission has changed little since its inception. Structure reflects strategy: to shape public policy not through overt mass mobilization but through pressure on select arenas of world power and appeals to a small, attentive public of elite world decision makers.

At the commission's core is a vast array of international bankers drawn from firms like Chase, Bank of America, Lloyds of London, Bank of Tokyo, Barclays and Compagnie Financière Holding. (Notably absent has been the

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U.S.-based Citibank.) Around them are grouped smaller investment banks like Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Baring Bros., and Brown Bros., Harriman; multinational corporations like Boeing, Coca-Cola, Deere, Caterpillar Tractor, Cargill, Cummins Engine, Sony, Toyota, Fiat, Dunlop, Rolls-Royce and Thyssen and the major corporate law firms which serve them all.

Next come the links to the public sphere. Never before has a business organization attained such global access to the major institutions of elite opinion formation. Commission membership has included directors and high-level officials of such leading media as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, Kyodo News Service, *Japan Times*, *La Stampa*, *Die Zeit*, *Financial Times*, CBS and *The Economist*. Strong ties to the commission's natural allies among internationally oriented research centers, foundations and think tanks are also evident. In the United States, an especially dense network links the Trilateral Commission to the Council on Foreign Relations, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Assembly, Brookings Institution, Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and several business schools. Last but not least, the commission has recruited leading politicians from America and abroad.

In the United States, the high degree of overlapping membership between the Trilateral Commission and the top-level personnel of the current Administration has become a bad joke. Besides Carter himself, more than two dozen Trilateralists have served on it, including Walter Mondale, Michael Blumenthal, Cyrus Vance, Harold Brown, Andrew Young, Paul Volcker, John Sawhill and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Membership was also extended to such "moderate" Republicans as George Bush, Elliot Richardson and John Anderson. (It may be worth noting that of the roughly dozen elected politicians invited to membership, two are self-described born-again Christians whose policy views depart sharply from most fundamentalists.) Foreign notables have included Raymond Barre, Prime Minister of France; Otto Lambsdorff, recent Minister of Economics for the Federal Republic of Germany, and former Japanese Ambassador to the United States and adviser to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Ryuji Takeuchi.

Adopting a flexible working structure, the commission soon broke up into a series of task forces that issued a steady stream of policy recommendations and reports (known collectively as *The Triangle Papers*). Included were discussions of international trade and commodity exchange, energy, domestic and international monetary reform, North-South conflict, labor management and the famous "crisis of democracy" afflicting advanced industrial states. Together these comprised a general program for achieving a liberal integrated world economic system, secure from protectionist disruption and domestic upheaval.

Only parts of this program have been implemented. Aside from its service as an executive recruitment agency for the current Administration, the commission's greatest American success has been the maintenance of a relatively liberal foreign economic policy. In the face of protectionist pressures that probably would have wrecked earlier free trade coalitions, the Carter Administration has given little ground. While occasionally retreating behind orderly marketing agreements, Carter has resisted steel industry demands for aggressive anti-dumping enforcement. He has offered only modest relief to beleaguered domestic auto producers and even succeeded in pushing a major trade liberalization package (the Multilateral Trade Negotiations Agreement) through Congress.

Elsewhere, implementation of the Trilateral Commission's proposal for periodic economic summits between the chief executives of major industrialized countries has helped achieve some coordination of national macro-economic policies (although the much-heralded "Three Locomotives" strategy for joint reflation of several years ago was almost immediately derailed). And the commission's strategy of integrating Third and Fourth World elites into the international economic system has been furthered by the liberalization of American foreign policy, notably in Africa and the Caribbean, although rising oil deficits in most of these countries are likely to bring a renewed U.S. emphasis on preserving "order" at the expense of "human rights." But even these limited successes are now threatened by forces well beyond the commission's control.

Every day brings bad news about the state of the international economy, thus darkening prospects for preserving crucial liberal domestic economic coalitions like that between big banks and big oil. While international bank recycling of petrodollars has usually generated profits large enough to keep them in alliance with international oil companies, oil price rises now send the dollar down, driving a wedge between the oil companies and the banks, who watch

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their holdings hemorrhage into stronger currencies. Further price rises, and the resultant difficulties in recycling petrodollars, can only exacerbate this tension. (It is probably significant that although Exxon helped fund the commission in the beginning, oil companies have not since been prominent on it.)

Détente's demise, which has been more rapid and complete than most Trilateralists desired, also poses a major problem. The commission has had a complicated and changing attitude toward East-West relations, but has never shared the complete animosity toward the Russians manifested by such groups as the Committee on the Present Danger.

Relations with Japan are another source of concern. With Japanese imports now threatening to do to the U.S. auto industry what they have already done to the TV, textile and steel industries in this country, the ability of the commission to defuse potentially explosive conflicts between the United States and Japan is being severely tested. Several Trilateralists, including independent Presidential candidate Anderson, have been active in the Japan-United States Friendship Commission, and the Trilateral Commission itself has promoted numerous unofficial contacts. When leading electronics firms organized the Semiconductor Industry Association to lobby against their Japanese competitors, Texas Instruments, whose chairman, Mark Shepherd, is a longtime commission member, refused to join. But it is unlikely that such gestures can check domestic opposition to the Rising Sun.

Commission proposals for the "reform" of American political institutions have also enjoyed only limited success. In 1976, after some internal debate, it published Samuel Huntington's famous report on the U.S. *Crisis of Democracy*. But the increased centralization of the Presidency and insulation of American Government from popular pressure that Huntington called for have been strongly resisted.

Carter has begun to restore the autonomy of the Central Intelligence Agency and to reaffirm a variety of Presidential prerogatives. Key court decisions in the *Snepp*, *Stanford Daily*, *Progressive* and other cases have given the Government new powers over the press and individual freedom of expression. And only a few weeks ago a Congressional coalition led by, among others, Trilateralist John Brademas overcame a century of objections and reaffirmed new procedures for limiting Federal spending that strongly concentrate power in the budget committees.

But Congress has resisted entering into international agreements that would otherwise tie its hands and remains generally hostile to all attempts to share U.S. power with other states in organizations like the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development or the International Energy Agency. Fearing Congressional opposition, the Administration recently deserted international negotiations over a proposed substitution account at the I.M.F., which would have institutionalized the now informal pressures applied by foreign governments to protect the value of their dollar holdings.

Beyond all these problems, two great question marks hang over the commission's future influence in the United States. One concerns its relation to American labor, the other its ability to dominate, if not control, U.S. Presidential politics.

As a coalition top-heavy with international banks and predominantly high-technology multinationals, the commission is a forum for the cooption of labor unions, rather than their outright destruction. From the start, it recruited to its ranks a select number of high-level labor leaders, including current A.F.L.-C.I.O. president Lane Kirkland. And along with an array of institutions like the German Marshall Fund (whose chairman, William M. Roth, is a longtime executive committee member), the commission has promoted "quality of working life" programs, often with minor labor participation. (In the same vein, we might note that the Brookings Institution, which has strong ties to the commission at all levels, now has senior staff personnel working on projects of the United Auto Workers' Progressive Alliance.)

But the most important developments between the commission and organized labor are probably implicit in the recent behavior of the Carter Administration. In a radical departure from past Government practice during severe economic downturns, the Administration is formally consulting major union officials as it systematically deflates the incomes of the majority of American workers and the poor. As part of his widely heralded National Accord with labor, Carter has instituted a labor-management Pay Board and committees for long- and short-range planning. If this effort to transform the A.F.L.-C.I.O. of the 1980s into the A.F.L. of the 1930s succeeds, it would mark a profound shift in American politics. Whether it can succeed in the face of rising imports, offshore relocation of industrial plants and shrinking social budgets at all levels of government, is, perhaps, dubious.

Meanwhile, in national politics, the coalition the commission forged around Jimmy Carter in 1976 is rapidly dissolving. Only a few months ago, the prospects for a repetition of its earlier success in controlling the Presidency were bright. Though Carter was threatened, he continued to recruit unprecedented numbers of major appointees from the commission's comparatively tiny ranks. (In addition to Paul Volcker, recent Trilateralist appointees include Presidential advisers Hedley Donovan and Lloyd Cutler, while Trilateralist Anthony Solomon was promoted to Volcker's old position at the New York Fed.) And if Carter stumbled, Edward Kennedy was waiting in the wings of the Democratic Party. Advised by such mainstream multinationalists as Robert McNamara, Trilateralist Felix Rohatyn and Walter Heller, Kennedy at that time was resolutely championing the cause of free trade. (His public shift to supporting curbs on steel imports—and later autos—came only after several defeats by Carter, and in time for the Pennsylvania primary.)

In the Republican Party, with Trilateralist William Brock as national chairman, and John Anderson and George Bush (David Rockefeller's personal choice) receiving excellent notices from the Eastern press, the commission's position

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also appeared strong, especially after the Iowa primary.

But subsequent events have changed all that. The decline of Carter, Reagan's nomination triumph and the Kennedy candidacy's limited utility as a vehicle of the protest vote all present the commission with its most serious domestic challenge to date.

In response, many Trilateralists are already regrouping around Anderson's independent candidacy. Trilateralist George Ball has endorsed Anderson, and negotiations are now underway to bring senior figures from the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association into the campaign. And in striking contrast to the scant attention paid to Citizens Party nominee Barry Commoner, extensive elite media coverage of Anderson's independent bid continues.

At the same time, a delicate attempt to come to terms with Reagan has begun. For the commission, the question is whether Reagan can be induced to compromise on foreign policy and the most vital parts of the domestic program, or whether he is a fully committed nationalist and protectionist ideologue. In short, is Reagan the Richard Nixon of 1968 or the Nixon of the early 1970s?

In 1968, the candidate of the Republican right, after defeating Nelson Rockefeller, performed a famous volte-face and accepted Rockefeller aide Henry Kissinger as his national security adviser. He also banished such prominent conservative campaign advisers as Richard Allen, William Casey and Martin Anderson to the outer darkness of his Administration. Allen, in particular, lost several bitter fights with Kissinger.

Now Casey, Anderson and Allen are back as senior advisers to Reagan, and so far they seem to be in control. Although columnists for *The New York Times* and other Eastern papers have repeatedly urged Reagan to "reach out" to the rest of the Republican Party and involve more "moderates" in his campaign, the candidate has offered them little. He has recruited most of his defense and foreign policy advisers from the extreme right, as yet declined to guarantee Brock's tenure as head of the Republican National Committee (though Casey has indicated some willingness to compromise) and refused to give Kissinger a major role in the campaign. And a massive campaign led by conservative stalwarts Jesse Helms and Richard Viguerie has built pressure for a conservative as running mate.

None of this, however, forestalls highly stylized signaling between Reagan and the commission. Last year, after Carter appointed Council on Foreign Relations directors Hedley Donovan, Lloyd Cutler and Paul Volcker to their current positions in his Administration, the council sought replacements. Two of their choices were unsurprising. Volcker's position went to outgoing Treasury Secretary and former Trilateralist Michael Blumenthal. James Hoge of *The Chicago Sun-Times*, also a commission member, was selected to replace Donovan. But the third appointment was less predictable. To serve out Cutler's term, early this year the council chose former Nixon Treasury Secretary and current Bechtel president George Shultz. This spring it renominated Shultz for a full term of his own. He has recently emerged as a prominent Reagan campaign adviser. Shultz's close friend and Bechtel associate, Trilateralist Caspar Weinberger, has also been brought in as one of the campaign's domestic advisers. As *Business Week* noted, quoting a prominent campaign source, "the battle for the heart and mind of Ronald Reagan is on."

More than a century ago, another ardent nationalist, Henry Clay, claimed that he would "rather be right than be President." Ronald Reagan may not have to make the choice. If he secures the Presidency without making major concessions to the Trilateral establishment, he can sharply blunt its power in American politics. But even if concessions are extracted, it is difficult to believe they would be any more enduring than those once made by Richard Nixon. An election-year coalition between Reagan and the Trilateralists would be desperately unstable, torn between the Republican Party's predominantly protectionist base and the convulsions of the global economy.

Even assuming the commission can resurrect Carter or help the improbable Anderson candidacy to success, its prospects for dominance of American domestic politics grow increasingly dim. In the end, faced with widespread domestic mobilization of the nationalist, protectionist and militarist elites to whom Reagan has given voice, the Trilateral Commission may be the next victim of the competitive world economy it was organized to preserve. □

LETTERS.

(Continued From Page 770)

on our mistakes for the next twenty years." Again, his misreading is revealing. Our consistent point is that the Indochina wars were not "mistakes." He writes that journalists could not be sure whether the war was "necessary" at the outset ("who, in the beginning, knew how the Vietnam War would end?"). "The professors," with the benefit of hindsight, can make judgments that the poor working journalist could not make at the time. But we did not criticize the U.S. war because it was "unnecessary" or "ended badly." Rather, we applied the same criteria we apply in the case of Russian invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. U.S. aggression, at the time when Langguth was Saigon bureau chief for *The Times* and before, was wrong, however it turned out. Langguth simply cannot comprehend how such a perspective can be applied to his own state; its hidden and open terrors, no matter how extensive, are always either necessary or random errors.

Langguth's defense of the press is inadequate for other reasons too. In several of the cases we discussed, extensive efforts were made *at the time* to convince the media to print the facts. For example, our analysis of Timor appeared while the media were concealing the facts about the massacres and U.S. responsibility. It and many other more

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direct communications made no impact. This cannot be explained by "lapses" or the absence of verifiable evidence. Langguth's assertion that we attribute the deficiencies of the press to a "conspiracy" is a surprising misreading of our analysis. We go to great lengths (especially in Volume I, pages 11 to 24 and 66 to 83) to show the complexity of the workings of media processes, the importance of self-censorship and the many-layered institutional forces at work—all quite at odds with a "conspiracy theory," which would be almost as foolish as a theory of "honest error" as an explanation of the media choices that we document.

Langguth argues that commentary in journals would be rejected "quite properly" as "copy for *The Times* news columns." Again, he fails to come to grips with our contention that the editorializing is done directly in "news columns," as we document at length (quite explicitly, for example, in our discussion of *The Times*'s seriously biased news accounts of conditions in postwar Vietnam, Volume II, pages 62 to 96). Langguth writes that we regard Henry Kamm's Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Indochina as "a personal insult." He omits mention of our numerous citations reflecting consistent bias, and thus avoids appraising the evidence. If there is an "insult," it ought to be felt by members of the journalistic profession.

Space prevents us from citing further examples. These reveal how difficult it is even for a serious journalist to comprehend what is being said, let alone to deal with it, when it does not conform to the doctrines of the faith, which was, in fact, one of the main points we documented throughout these two volumes.

Noam Chomsky
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Edward S. Herman
University of Pennsylvania

LANGGUTH REPLIES

Los Angeles

I am not surprised that my review should be subjected to the same sort of distortions that Professors Chomsky and Herman committed in their dealing with the daily press. Of course I did not write that the Vietnam War might have been "necessary," and I resent their erroneous use of quotation marks. But Chomsky and Herman have now provided, in the bombing of Laos, an example self-contained enough to be examined in detail and by returning to it, I may be able to explain why I found their work first disappointing and then not quite honest.

The initial accusation about Laos came casually in a discussion of William Sullivan's confirmation in 1973 as Ambassador to the Philippines. Chomsky and Herman quoted a *New York Times* columnist, Anthony Lewis, who deplored Sullivan's part in the bombing of Laos. Then Chomsky and Herman added, "—an episode which, incidentally, was initially suppressed by *The New York Times* editors." To back up that assertion, they provided a footnote, which read, in full: "See Volume II, chapters 4 and 5."

In my review, I explained why my own experience as a *Times* reporter in Indochina had led me to reject their charge—a serious one, after all, despite the offhand way in which they put it forth and defended it.

Now, thanks to their letter, we learn for the first time that they were not writing in Volume I about southern Laos, and we hear the sophistic distinction that somehow bombing the south was "tolerable to the ideological system" and bombing the north was not. (Young or forgetful readers should be reminded that, unlike the situation in Vietnam, no treaty had divided Laos into a south and a north.) But let that go; it is just more of the slipperiness that I had deplored in my review. Turn instead to the specific citation that they now provide for their attack on *The Times*: Volume II, page 117. What proof do we find? In July 1968—more than three years after *The Times* revealed that Laos was permitting U.S. aircraft to bomb within its borders, northern or southern—Jacques Decornoy of *Le Monde* published eyewitness reports of the devastation that U.S. bombing was causing in northern Laos, and Chomsky and Herman complain that *The Times* did not reprint his dispatch. That is the suppression.

The professors go on to acknowledge that *The Times* later supported with its own information the material contained in Decornoy's report. What they cannot explain is why, if the editors had suppressed his dispatch for ideological reasons, those same editors saw fit to print similar accounts in 1969.

To any journalist, another version suggests itself: Decornoy had developed sources that initially *The Times* reporters did not have. In any given month, there were more than 500 reporters in Indochina; of that number, three or four worked for *The Times*. When *The Times* editors verified that particular story, they printed it.

To Chomsky and Herman, however, the press must move forward in lockstep. When it does not, the blame falls on editors who are suppressing news not "tolerable to the ideological system." The sad result of the professors' prejudice is that, by belaboring reporters with selective and sometimes dubious evidence, Chomsky and Herman only persuade those who don't care to know how the press works, and their criticism will not lead to the reforms that a fairer approach might stimulate.

A. J. Langguth

1950s NEVER ENDED

Berkeley, Calif.

I object to the assumption by both Peter Samuels and Richard Walton in their debate over the McGeorge Bundy appointment to the New York University faculty [Letters, *The Nation*, June 7] that I'm either dead, retired, or at least assuredly safely returned to the academe from which my role as a David vs. McCarthy's Goliath barred me. No, my name did not appear either in Walton's article ["The Laundering of McGeorge Bundy," *The Nation*, April 12] or the subsequent exchange of letters. But as an unfriendly witness before the McCarran committee (1952), McCarthy's (1953) and H.U.A.C. ("Black Friday," San Francisco, 1960), subpoenaed specifically, as the transcripts show, because I had written an academic work (*The Soviet Far East and Central Asia*, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944—yes, *forty*-four), I am very much part of what they are talking about.

Samuels talks of "attempts during the witch-hunting 1950s to bar alleged Communists from campuses." Those '50s never ended. I know of *no* case, not one, in which someone excluded from academe has been able to return to it except by court order (and I can think of only two instances of the latter). I do know a tenured economics professor today who was a subpoenaed union organizer in those years, a tenured immunologist who was an official of a Communist youth organization, but not a single instance in which academe has voluntarily permitted permanent reentry into its doors of anyone it pushed out of them. That would be an admission the victims were right, or unjustly

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treated, an admission it has nowhere been willing to make.

Having been an invited fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford, at post-doctoral stipend, before McCarthyism, it was not until 1969 that the sociology department at the University of California at Berkeley was willing to hire me, although professors in no less than six departments there had been granting students undergraduate and graduate credit for my courses taught free of charge in the special program they had won in the wake of the Free Speech Movement. My three books published to that date had all been in use in schools from Stanford to Yale. It is more than likely that both Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, when students, had been required to read one of them.

After the single quarter's token appointment, I was not rehired, although no word of criticism of my teaching was ever offered. It is true that Ronald Reagan, then Governor of California, had just gained control of the Board of Regents, and had told the faculty that if it wanted raises, it had better watch whom it hired. Angela Davis was discharged from U.C.L.A. that quarter.

In 1978 I taught comparative law at the Law School of Golden Gate University. Again, no reappointment and no word of criticism. I was again the author of a recent book in wide use, this time in women's studies courses.

In today's superficially non-McCarthyist situation, if a young academic holds revisionist views of the responsibility for Cold Wars I and II, it is clumsy to get rid of him. But the presence of someone who can document that he understood their origins more than thirty years ago would raise entirely too many difficult questions. The witch-hunters actually used the term "premature anti-fascist" to justify their attacks on those who saw the danger presented by Hitler before we entered The War. I was a "premature anti-cold warrior." That's bad. *William M. Mandel*

GRAVER SITUATION

Somerville, Mass.

It seems that William O. Beeman ["*Exeunt Omnes?*" *The Nation*, June 7] is himself one of the Americans who "have little notion of the workings of the Immigration and Naturalization Service." He seriously underestimates the grave situation that now confronts Iranians on nonpermanent visas in the United States, particularly so in the case of Iranian students.

Beeman assumes that all such students have the Duration of Status (D/S) designation on their I-94 form (visa conditions) and he assumes that I.N.S. is only "proposing" some "innocuous" changes in immigration regulations, the implementation of which can in any case be delayed by appeal. However, the new series of regulations published, but not publicized, by the U.S. Immigration Service and the Department of State on April 16 declares: "Students on F-1 or exchange visitors on J-1 visas will be denied extension" with two exceptions, viz., the visa holder requires urgent medical attention or has a relative who is a U.S. citizen or holds a permanent resident visa. Moreover, for those holding F-1 or J-1 visas, request for periods of paid practical training will be denied. The D/S program is apt to be terminated before the beginning of the coming academic year (September 1980) according to a Notice of Proposed Rules Change released on May 19.

What is of crucial constitutional consequence for the United States in general, and for the independent educational and free academic communities in particular, is that these measures deny due process of law to Iranians on the basis of their nationality. The new regulations state: "The U.S. Immigration Service plans to take *immediate action* on all Iranian applications through deportation hearings within *ten days* of a denied application for any extensions . . . departure dates may be set for *no more than fifteen days*. Appeals may be made to the Board of Immigration Appeals." (Emphasis added.)

It is clear that every Iranian student in this country will be deportable in the near future, if not already scheduled for deportation now.

On May 29, Massachusetts Institute of Technology faculty members meeting especially on this matter asked the institute's administration to challenge in court, if necessary, these new I.N.S. policies. Of the sixty-eight Iranians, mostly graduate students now at M.I.T., twenty-five will have to leave the United States between May 31 and December because their visas carry specific termination dates. Others will receive termination dates after the revocation of their D/S status.

At the special faculty meeting there was a near unanimous vote condemning the policies issued on April 16 because "such policies unfairly punish students not responsible for the current impasse in U.S.-Iranian relations, raise important constitutional questions and threaten both the spirit of free inquiry and the academic integrity of all internationally respected American universities."

If other independent universities and educational institutions follow M.I.T.'s special faculty resolution in this case, they will defend their own freedom and integrity and that of the international scientific community. *Roger Hurwitz*
Hormoz Shahdadi

BEEMAN SUPPORTS M.I.T.

Providence, R.I.

Roger Hurwitz and Hormoz Shahdadi are quite correct about the dangers facing Iranian students. I hardly feel I was underestimating those dangers in warning of "mass expulsions of Iranian students." For the record, I noted that the proposed changes in regulations only "*seemed* innocuous"—probably purposefully so. The actual consequences are far more grave.

At the time this article was written I was aware that changes were about to be made in Immigration and Naturalization Service enforcement related to students not having Duration of Status conditions, i.e., those whose residency was due to terminate on a fixed date. Those students will now be able to complete their degree studies, as announced by the I.N.S. on June 11.

I view this recent announcement on the part of the I.N.S. as a blind to disguise the more serious act of the wholesale cancellation of the Duration of Status condition, which would render *all* Iranians deportable. This is a separate issue, still pending, which at present requires Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's approval. As Hurwitz and Shahdadi point out, persons with "J" (visitor's) visas are still deportable when their residency terminates.

Thus, the struggle to prevent these grossly discriminatory actions against an essentially innocent group of people continues. I would like to add my support for the M.I.T. resolution, which I have seen, and urge all concerned citizens, especially those affiliated with educational institutions, to express their concerns to the White House, the apparent *deus ex machina* behind this ill-conceived, sophomoric plan.

William O. Beeman

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Questions to Tourists Stopped by a Pineapple Field

W. S. MERWIN

W.S. Merwin, recipient of the 1979 Bollingen Award, is the author of The Carrier of Ladders, *which received the 1972 Pulitzer Prize in Poetry,* The Dancing Bears, Green With Beasts, The Drunk in the Furnace, The Lice, The Moving Target, Writings to an Unfinished Accompaniment *and* The Compass Flower. *His many translations include* The Poem of the Cid *and* The Song of Roland. *He was born in New York City, raised in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and he now lives in Hawaii.*

Did you like your piece of pineapple would you like a napkin
who gave you the pineapple what do you know about them
do you eat much pineapple where you come from
how did this piece compare with pineapple you have eaten before
what do you remember about the last time you ate a piece of pineapple
did you know where it came from how much did it cost
do you remember the first time you tasted pineapple
do you like it better fresh or from the can
what do you remember of the picture on the can
what did you feel as you looked at the picture
which do you like better the picture or the pineapple field
did you ever imagine pineapples growing somewhere

how do you like these pineapple fields
have you ever seen pineapple fields before
do you know whether pineapple is native to the islands
do you know whether the natives ate pineapple
do you know whether the natives grew pineapple
do you know how the land was acquired to be turned into pineapple fields
do you know what is done to the land to turn it into pineapple fields
do you know how many months and how deeply they plow it
do you know what those machines do are you impressed
do you know what is in those containers are you interested

what do you think was here before the pineapple fields
would you suppose that the fields represent an improvement
do you think they smell better than they did before
what is your opinion of those square miles of black plastic
where do you think the plastic goes when the crop is over
what do you think becomes of the land when the crop is over
do you think the growers know best do you think this is for your own good
what and where was the last animal you noticed
what was the last bird you noticed
do you remember what sort of bird it was
do you know whether there were birds here before
are there any birds where you come from
do you think it matters what do you think matters more
have you seen any natives since you arrived
what were they doing what were they wearing
what language were they speaking were they in nightclubs
are there any natives where you come from

have you taken pictures of the pineapple fields
would you like for me to hold the camera
so that you can all be in the picture
would you mind if I took your picture
standing in front of those pineapple fields
do you expect to come back

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what made you decide to come here
was this what you came for
when did you first hear of the islands
where were you then how old were you
did you first see the islands in black and white
what words were used to describe the islands

what do the words mean now that you are here
what do you do for a living
what would you say is the color of pineapple leaves
when you look at things in rows how do you feel
would you like to dream of pineapple fields

is this your first visit how do you like the islands
what would you say in your own words
you like best about the islands
what do you want when you take a trip
when did you get here how long will you be staying
did you buy any clothes especially for the islands
how much did you spend on them before you came
was it easy to find clothes for the islands
how much have you spent on clothes since you got here
did you make your own plans or are you part of a group
would you rather be on your own or with a group
how many are in your group how much was your ticket
are the side-tours part of the ticket or are they extra
are hotel and meals and car part of the ticket or extra
have you already paid or will you pay later
did you pay by check or by credit card
is this car rented by the day or week
how does it compare with the one you drive at home
how many miles does it do to a gallon
how far do you want to go on this island

where have you been in the last three hours
what have you seen in the last three miles
do you feel hurried on your vacation
are you getting your money's worth
how old are you are you homesick are you well
what do you eat here is it what you want
what gifts are you planning to take back
how much do you expect to spend on them
what have you bought to take home with you
have you decided where to put each thing
what will you say about where they came from
what will you say about the pineapple fields

do you like dancing here what do you do when it rains
was this trip purely for pleasure
do you drink more or less than at home
how do you like the place where you live now
were you born there how long have you lived there
what does the name mean is it a growth community
why are you living there how long do you expect to stay
how old is your house would you like to sell it
in your opinion coming from your background
what do the islands offer someone of your age
are there any changes you would like to promote
would you like to invest here would you like to live here
if so would it be year round or just for part of the year
do you think there is a future in pineapple □

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The Shark and the Sucker

RICHARD LINGEMAN

KENNEDY AND ROOSEVELT. *By Michael R. Beschloss. Illustrated. W. W. Norton & Company. 318 pp. $14.95.*

The political friendship of Joseph Kennedy and Franklin Roosevelt was to friendship as the marriage of George and Martha in Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* was to marriage. If I have one complaint about Michael R. Beschloss's solidly researched and impressively set down account of the relationship between the Kennedy paterfamilias and the old master is that he does not stray sufficiently from historiographical responsibility to present it as the soap opera it was—a story that asks, can a wealthy Irish-Catholic from Boston's North End find happiness, social cachet and respectability through good works in government on the sufferance of the wily patron of Hyde Park? Beschloss, who began this book as a senior thesis at Williams College and is now only 25, plays inside the poli-sci boundaries, however.

The Kennedy-Roosevelt relationship perhaps needs the peculiar talents of a Sacher-Masoch fully to evoke it. The first encounter between them came during World War I, and it should have been a warning to Kennedy. Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, ordered Kennedy, who was running a shipyard handling war contracts, to turn over a battleship that had been built for the Argentine Navy. Kennedy refused, saying the Government hadn't paid up for the work. Roosevelt sent in tugs with Marines aboard, bayonets fixed, to tow the ship away. Kennedy, who had written F.D.R. off as a "smiling four-flusher," would years later observe, "Roosevelt was the hardest trader I'd ever run up against."

That was belated hindsight, evidently, for in 1930, Kennedy was meeting with Governor Roosevelt and signing on as an early supporter of the 1932 Presidential campaign. In a talk with publisher Roy Howard a few months later, he gave the impression that he "had succeeded in ingratiating himself with Roosevelt and . . . would 'be able to go a long way toward molding Roosevelt's thought processes and policies along lines agreeable to him [Kennedy].' " For his services, Kennedy confidently expected a high post in Washington—Secretary of the Treasury, say.

Interlude. Leaves falling off the calendar: January, February, March . . . June, and not even a hint from the Oval Office. Finally, Kennedy dispatched an emissary, the vaudevillian actor Eddie Dowling, who was a Roosevelt supporter, with a devious proposal designed to benefit James Roosevelt. "Oh, old Joe," says the Boss amiably, when his name is broached. "What's old Joe up to now?" Later, Kennedy would gain direct access to Roosevelt's ear, but the incident exemplified the pattern of their relationship: Kennedy entreating and employing devious favors, plus the publicity services of his man on *The New York Times*, Arthur Krock (Justice Felix Frankfurter claimed that Kennedy once blurted out that he was "supporting that fellow")—and Roosevelt dangling various trinkets of public office before him.

F.D.R. finally decided old Joe could do him the most good as head of the newly created Securities and Exchange Commission, which was otherwise packed with certified liberals. When criticism mounted, because of Kennedy's reputation as a speculator and pooltrader on Wall Street, the Boss joked that it was a matter of "setting a thief to catch a thief."

Kennedy's next dream job was Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; again the Boss kept him waiting. Finally, a summons came. When Kennedy appeared in the Oval Office, a shrine for which he had an intense reverence, the Boss, with the old glint in his eye, commanded him to drop his pants. Kennedy readily complied. Aha, just as I thought, F.D.R. said; Kennedy was too bowlegged to wear knee breeches, which were *de rigueur* for a new American Ambassador presenting his credentials to the King.

By this time, Beschloss writes, the two were drawing apart ideologically. Roosevelt's commitment to reform was overriding his more easygoing ways of enlisting business in the war against depression; Hitler was on the march and Roosevelt was moving cautiously to oppose him. Kennedy in 1930 had feared that the country "was heading for an explosion," as Rose Kennedy recalled. He feared revolution, as many businessmen did; he placed his family first, but that meant preserving at least part of the fortune he had amassed, and Roosevelt seemed the strong figure—"a leader who could lead"—who would hold the country together and preserve that necessary moiety. In short, as an "enlightened" businessman, he believed that in return for safety, he would sacrifice some of the freedom on the stock market that had enabled him to make that fortune; hence, his support of stock market "reform."

The Hitler menace was something else. As Kennedy made clear in his shockingly indiscreet dinner-table conversations in London, he thought of Neville Chamberlain's appeasement course as the right one, that you could do business with Hitler and that "England was finished"—too weak to defeat Hitler. Better that England and France make peace while there was a chance, rather than subject the world to a war that would devastate the economy, perhaps give Bolshevism a leg up and surely draw in his own sons (Kennedy, rather touchingly, saw World War II primarily in terms of its effect on his boys). Beschloss observes shrewdly that Kennedy's streak of black pessimism, the premonitions of disaster that may have prodded him into getting out of the market before the crash of 1928, and had driven him into the arms of Roosevelt, also made him an appeaser. The author might have underscored more boldly that it also made Kennedy something of a fascist, who envisaged a world divided up into economic spheres with Hitler, the strong leader in his sphere, helping to preserve the new prosperous world order.

But Kennedy had a fatal hesitation. He could never be a complete isolationist in the sense of openly joining forces with the America Firsters and opposing Roosevelt; and by the same token he would alternately warn of the dangers of war in terms of devolving too much power upon the central government, and then say that a fascist-style centralization might be a good thing. "He is anxious to get the dictators and the democracies together to avert the economic disaster for which, in his belief, the world is coasting straight and fast," as one reporter cap-

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sulized his foreign policy views. Kennedy also said that "the democratic policy of the United States is a Jewish production."

The mischief potential of an Ambassador to Great Britain supporting Chamberlain, who was on his way out, and hating Winston Churchill, who was on his way up; bad-mouthing F.D.R. and preaching that there might not always be an England—can be readily grasped, but F.D.R. was stuck with him. If he fired him, old Joe would come out against him in the 1940 election with telling effect. Instead, the Boss called him back from England in October 1940, kept him away from the press, and then gave a dinner party at which the Roosevelt charm was applied with masterly effect. "He exploited the disorder in Kennedy's soul," Beschloss writes. Kennedy emerged, he later confessed to Clare Boothe Luce, with a promise by Roosevelt to support Joe Jr. in the 1944 Massachusetts governor's race. In exchange, he promptly went on the radio and endorsed the third term. With that, his usefulness to Roosevelt was at an end, and he was laboriously discarded.

Kennedy and Roosevelt is a sobering and fascinating lesson in the ways of power and of hairy Rooseveltian statecraft, and in the inadequacies of the business mind in the political and diplomatic arena. I think Beschloss might have articulated these lessons more forcefully, instead of relying on James MacGregor Burns's concepts of the "transactional" and "transforming" leader, and Isaiah Berlin's of hedgehog and fox. As Rexford Tugwell said, Kennedy was "one of the people Roosevelt knew how to use without allowing them more scope than was appropriate for his intentions." If zoology must be resorted to, Roosevelt was a shark—a noble one, fortunately—and Kennedy was, well, the species of little fish that bears the unfortunate name of sucker. □

Hard Words and Soft Sciences

JAMES R. McDONALD

THE FLEECING OF AMERICA. *By Senator William Proxmire. Houghton Mifflin Company. 238 pp. $10.95.*

For the parade of heroes, villains and nonentities who have populated the United States Senate over the years, there have traditionally been four ways to achieve stature and re-election and at least a chance of being remembered by future generations. One can master the intricacies of the system and cause it to function on command, the style of Lyndon Johnson; display a talent for flamboyant oratory, the mode of Everett Dirksen; or sponsor a comprehensive corpus of innovative legislation (in this case it helps to represent a politically safe constituency), as, for example, William Fulbright. Finally, there are those who play the gadfly: deflating the pompous, exposing sharp practice in high places and generally posing as the champion of the little guy against the system, very much the *modus operandi* of William Proxmire.

Senator Proxmire's most eyecatching contribution to the welfare of the American taxpayer has been his initiation of a monthly "Golden Fleece" award, given with considerable fanfare and publicity to the agency or project, supported by Federal moneys, that gives promise of providing the least tangible return to the nation for the greatest expenditure. In the main, these awards, whose story provides the plot line for *The Fleecing of America*, have been given to such notorious big spenders as the military and public works agencies. From time to time, however, the Senator has selected scientific research projects funded by such Federal agencies as the National Science Foundation or the National Institutes of Health, and the "Golden Fleeces" bestowed on these occasions have led him into deeper waters.

In taking on the science establishment, Proxmire has tackled an opponent more formidable than the average boondoggling bureaucracy. Despite the fact that it speaks with many and divergent voices, science is an institution that has been continuously hardened in many situations of adversity and, whether it be elitist or no, reacts strongly to being made an object of ridicule. The pressures within scientific communities to acquire grants and produce publications have increased sharply as opportunities for appointment and advancement have narrowed, and no one who has ever read a scientific journal with understanding or listened to the papers at a professional meeting would ever be so fatuous as to proclaim that no trivial or even spurious research is ever done. Nonetheless, science is strongly auto-critical and self-policing; the judgment of knowledgeable peers is merciless, and only when science passes out of the professional sphere and into the folklore of the untutored and gullible does deception persist for long.

Moreover, the type of Federally funded projects in the various sciences, from among which Senator Proxmire has selected candidates for his awards, have recently been subjected to several pressures that have made them clearly more accountable. One evident result is that the overall quality of projects for which funding is requested is substantially higher than it was a decade ago.

Second, the process of peer review, or the evaluation of proposals by panels of experts, is much more thorough and better organized than formerly. Thousands of scientists in all fields regularly donate their time and expertise to the effort of insuring that only well-designed projects, those most likely to be completed and to advance understanding, are actually funded.

Finally, in an effort to maximize the impact of available Federal funds, and to channel them into areas of perceived need, there is currently a great emphasis on directed research under Federal sponsorship: we'll tell you what we want done and you can write a proposal

James R. McDonald is professor of geography at Eastern Michigan University. Some of his research has been supported by National Science Foundation funds, but he has not to this point been the recipient of a "Golden Fleece."

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that will accomplish the task. This approach to research is anathema to many scientists, who view it as given to self-fulfilling prophecies and agreement with previously identified goals. Nonetheless, proponents claim, it clearly reduces the margin for scientific wastefulness at government expense about which Senator Proxmire becomes so exercised.

The ultimate fallback position of science, of course, is that literally anything is worth systematic study since, until it is studied, no one can be sure if it was worth studying or not. Circuitous reasoning, to be sure, yet with plenty of spectacular historical precedent to blunt criticisms. Everyone can cite examples of great breakthroughs in science resulting from mistakes, accidents or seemingly idle curiosity. Konrad Lorenz has shared a Nobel Prize for his work on animal behavior, yet what would Senator Proxmire have said about his 1938 study of egg-rolling by the Graylag goose?

Since Proxmire's audience consists largely of average folks who enjoy seeing big government, big science or big anything made to appear foolish, it is no surprise that most of the "Golden Fleece" awards in science have gone to projects in the social and behavioral sciences. To the untutored, the physical and life sciences, with their complex formulas, highly visible equipment and implications of *Star Wars* technology are largely acceptable. Science is quick to identify itself with technological breakthroughs that appear to demonstrate its concern for the common good, combining this with mysterious jargon, so that most citizens accept the package as expensive but necessary.

Social and behavioral science, however, is more vulnerable, dealing as it does with subjects that are much more in the realm of our everyday lives. Like managing a baseball team, everyone assumes that he can do a better job of sorting out the economy, solving the educational crisis, or explaining why people kill one another with grim regularity. Familiarity breeds contempt, and the "soft" sciences become the poor cousins of both funding and acceptance—sitting ducks for Proxmire's jabs.

To be fair, the Senator does not single out science per se for his attentions; he casts a wide net to ensnare evidence of waste throughout the bureaucratic jungle. Nor is he opposed to any of the castigated projects in themselves, confining his objections to the Federal funding that has supported them. He seems quite careful to make this distinction in all cases cited in the book, still remembering the recent occasion, no doubt, when he was successfully sued by an irate scientific "Golden Fleece" recipient and forced to make a public apology.

Almost without exception, books published by political figures in election years are self- or party-serving, designed to impress the crowd rather than to address the issues: *The Fleecing of America* is unfortunately cast in this mold. Even though Senator Proxmire is not personally before the electorate in 1980, his text abounds with "I introduced a bill . . . ," and "My amendment would require . . . ," and "If we do this, we'll win," and similar clichés of political rhetoric.

Another problem, common to denunciatory works as a class, is that examples are strung together with little organizational framework: there are dozens of great cocktail-party stories to remember, but no overall sense of cohesion. Also endemic to this genre is a tendency to elaborate and embellish the problem well beyond the point of utility, while paying much less attention to real or potential solutions.

The question is: do we need Proxmire? To which the answer is clearly "yes." To his great credit, he has succeeded in making his points about scientific profiteering at taxpayer expense, without resorting to the strong streak of anti-intellectualism which always lurks just below the American surface. In an era of recession and national uncertainty, the Senator thankfully has resisted the urge to call people names out of context, and his efforts in Washington generally deserve the support of thoughtful citizens both in Wisconsin and nationally.

Do we, on the other hand, need science? Equally, "yes," and the answer is in no way facetious. Whether scientific research is basic or applied, it inevitably represents the future. Scientific curiosity has proved irresistible throughout history, despite formidable obstacles frequently placed in its path, and even if it has often been lured into the delusion of providing technological fixes, science still offers the world at least the hope of salvation, if not the will.

Do we, finally, need *The Fleecing of America*? Not much, really, except to the extent that it may underwrite Senator Proxmire's campaign costs in 1982. Without substantive intellectual content, a coherent message, or a compelling literary style, it will bask in a brief flurry of reviews, then join the vast collection of similar efforts that clutter the remaindered lists. □

The Lives of the Cell

ANDREW SCULL

CONSCIENCE AND CONVENIENCE: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America. *By David J. Rothman. Little, Brown and Company. 480 pp. $17.50.*

COLD STORAGE. *By Wendell Rawls Jr. Simon & Schuster. 255 pp. $10.95.*

Almost a decade ago, David Rothman published *The Discovery of the Asylum*. The boldness and sweep of his arguments and the resonance of his implicitly anti-institutional, antibureaucratic, anti-expert analysis of nineteenth-century prisons, asylums and juvenile reformatories made that book an instant success. Predictably, the book's assault on orthodox pieties and Rothman's suggestion that there were fundamental similarities in Jacksonian America's responses to the criminal and the mentally sick also aroused considerable controversy, and the efflorescence of research which his work stimulated has sharply modified some of his original conclusions.

Conscience and Convenience, Rothman's sequel to the earlier volume, is unlikely to have such a pervasive influence, if only because its analytic stance is now so familiar. Nevertheless, it is a vigorous, penetrating examination of the renewed effort to reform the treatment of the deviant originally undertaken in the Progressive era. By

Andrew Scull is the author of Museums of Madness *(St. Martin's Press) and* Decarceration *(Prentice-Hall).*

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the end of the nineteenth century, what Rothman refers to as "the Jacksonian asylum" (i.e., penitentiaries, mental institutions, juvenile reformatories and the like) had fallen into deserved disrepute, and the Progressive reform efforts were clearly in some measure a response to this growing crisis of institutional legitimacy. New policies and programs were introduced, constituting a set of changes which, as Rothman sees it, subsequently "dominated every aspect of criminal justice, juvenile justice and mental health right through the middle 1960's." It is Rothman's intention to expose the pretensions of the Progressive era reforms as a warning against being taken in by similar hubris today.

As he had earlier suggested about the Jacksonians, Rothman argues that the Progressive reformers' agenda was strikingly similar across the whole spectrum of the social control apparatus. They displayed an enormous self-confidence and blithe willingness to widen the scope of state action, never doubting the fundamental benevolence and trustworthiness of the state and its agents. Despite the existence of a number of competing explanations of the etiology of deviance (environmental, psychological, genetic), there was near-universal agreement in Progressive social thought on the central importance of permitting a discretionary response to the individual case.

The heightened ideological concern with flexibility and discretion is apparent even on a merely superficial acquaintance with the writings of the Progressive reformers. In the closing pages of *The Discovery of the Asylum*, Rothman had suggested that the Progressive innovations designed with these goals in mind—probation, parole, the juvenile court, the outpatient clinic and psychopathic hospital—formed the beginnings of a movement away from institutional confinement, and were, in a straightforward fashion, the forerunners of the contemporary movement to deinstitutionalize the deviant. He now concedes, as many of us had long suspected, that this is a mistake. The Progressives sought not to eliminate the institution but simply to modify its uniformity and rigidity. And their innovations, at least in practice, amounted to an *addition* to, not a replacement for, more traditional techniques of social control. Probation, for example, functioned not as a substitute for imprisonment; rather, it led to a widening of the net and the subjection of new segments of the population to the risks of arbitrary state action.

Still, Rothman insists that the Progressive reforms, together with the Jacksonian discovery of the asylum and the contemporary movement to eliminate or sharply curtail its operations, mark a watershed in the history of social control in America. One wonders whether he doesn't somewhat overstate his case here, for his analysis again and again reveals that Progressive reforms, *intended* perhaps as revolutionary, *in practice* were reduced to changes of form rather than substance. For all the rhetorical emphasis upon flexibility and the individual case, practice remained stubbornly wedded to the grim custodial routines inherited from the past. In his discussion of the whole spectrum of Progressive innovations, Rothman repeatedly stresses the token nature of reforms such as individualization, psychiatric guidance and intervention. But if so many of these changes were no more than cosmetic, how can he simultaneously grant them such revolutionary significance?

The bulk of Rothman's analysis is devoted to a painstaking dissection of the Progressive era coalition between reformers and practitioners (judges, district attorneys, prison wardens, asylum superintendents, social workers, et al.); the sharply differing motivations of those creating and administering the Progressive programs, and the results that flowed from what he clearly sees as an unholy alliance of reformist conscience and administrative convenience. As he rightly observes, the alliance was and had to be a formidable one, since many of the reforms proposed were highly unpopular among the public at large. Nowhere was this more evident than with respect to probation and parole, which were widely, if mistakenly, seen as devices to coddle the criminal. Once the changes were introduced, the paradoxical combination of the vaulting ambition of the reformers and the mundane administrative convenience of the bureaucrats in charge of the social control apparatus sufficed to perpetuate them in the face of popular anger and enduring opposition.

The men of conscience intended the asylum to perform a dual function, providing both custody and cure. But these were essentially incompatible goals, and in practice "the conflicts were always resolved in one direction only: the needs of incapacitation took precedence over reform." Confronted with the collapse of their original design, the reformers sought consolation in a comparison of the grim present with what (in their eyes at least) was the still more horrible past, and in the belief that failure "reflected not faulty conceptualization but inadequate funding."

From the perspective of those running the criminal justice and mental health systems, on the other hand, the innovations were in many ways a splendid success. The changes helped them "to clear crowded court calendars, to maximize their control over inmates and patients, to buttress the legitimacy of their institutions," but they left largely untouched the underlying structures inherited from the nineteenth century. To disguise this unpalatable reality, both sides consented to reform by the magic of words: the asylum became the mental hospital; the prison, the reformatory; and the correctional institute, the school. In any larger perspective, however, the Progressive reforms simply perpetuated—perhaps even intensified—old nightmares.

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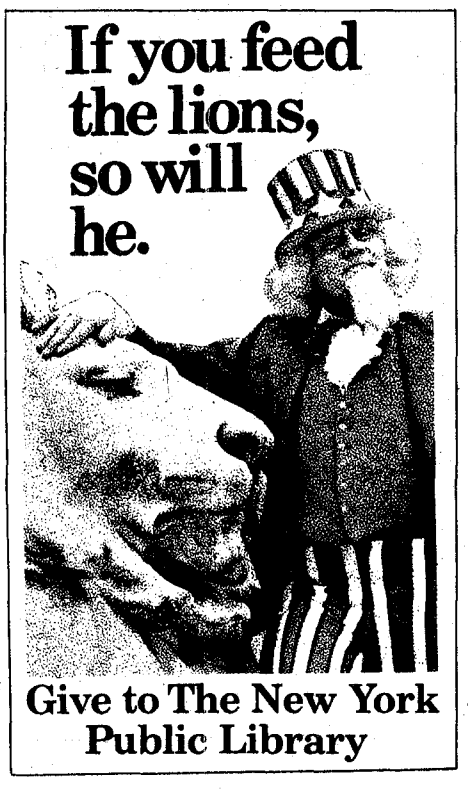
Conscience and Convenience should have been written more economically. Rothman has chosen to provide separate analyses of developments in the criminal justice, juvenile and mental health spheres. As he correctly points out, though, the programs in each of these areas shared the same basic logic. Consequently, the reader is subjected to the same set of arguments three times in a row. Not surprisingly, the writing sometimes becomes labored and mechanical; one's attention flags. Here is an instance where less might have been more. And yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, this is probably the best discussion we possess of the promise versus the reality of the Progressive reforms.

Just how nightmarish the Progressive "solution" could become is demonstrated by Wendell Rawls's new book, *Cold Storage*. Farview State Hospital, the subject of his narrative, is Pennsylvania's institution for the criminally insane. Built in 1909, it was hailed at the time as marking the end of "the deplorable practice of placing the insane even temporarily in common jails where, often enough, regardless of sex or mental disturbance, they are grossly ill-treated." In typically Progressive language, those who attended to institutional psychiatry's rhetoric were promised that "concentrated effort on behalf of the individual patient will be the watchword of the future." As Rawls dryly comments, things didn't quite work out that way.



Cold Storage is an extensive reworking of material first published in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* during 1976. For this long and detailed series of newspaper reports, Rawls and another reporter, Acel Moore, were awarded a Pulitzer Prize, and their work prompted investigations by the state legislature and by a grand jury that confirmed both the substance and the detail of their allegations. Patients at Farview, in a manner that is depressingly familiar to those acquainted with the history of mental "hospitals" and their associated scandals, found themselves at the mercy of a staff (not to mention other inmates) who systematically exploited, beat, raped and even murdered them; or else, in the case of the "professional" medical employees, simply abandoned them to their fate. The main contribution of the medical men at the facility, besides certifying that murder victims had died of heart attacks or other natural causes, was to legitimize the wholesale prescription of the phenothiazines with which many patients were drugged into near insensibility (though, of course, it was the attendants who decided who got what doses).

As usual, despite all the furor the original reports aroused, little of substance changed. As Rawls reports—all too briefly—some patients were discharged or transferred to other state hospitals, but recommendations that Farview be closed were quietly scuttled by political pressure in Harrisburg. Raw political power also sufficed to choke off the funding of the special prosecutor's office, set up to handle the grand jury investigation and subsequent indictments. And a combination of the refusal of the Pennsylvania state courts to order a change of venue for the trials, intimidation of juries and the usual reluctance, as expressed by one juryman, to "put someone in jail for doing something to a crazy," helped to insure that of thirty-six indictments, including four for murder, only one, a minor charge of assault, led to a conviction.

For his book, Rawls has skillfully transformed the imposing array of information he gathered on operations at Farview into a deceptively simple narrative of a "typical" year at the hospital. In an effort to re-create some of the existential terror and awfulness of living in such an environment, he has chosen to "fictionalize" his account, re-creating scenes, writing as an omniscient observer privy to people's innermost thoughts and feelings. The approach has some advantages: it provides us with a vivid and memorable portrait of life in asylums for the criminally insane, the brutal last resorts of our already more than brutal penal and psychiatric establishments. But the readability and immediacy are purchased at the price of some of the authority of the original reporting. If the book is something less than "the most telling work we have on American mental institutions" (as its publisher would have us believe), it nevertheless remains a powerful and moving contribution to the literature on the subject. Yet the very venerability of the tradition of the mental hospital exposé suggests that this latest example of the genre is unlikely to move us much beyond righteous, ultimately empty, anger. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

In a Year of Thirteen Moons
The Outsider

Rainer Werner Fassbinder wrote, directed, photographed and edited *In a Year of Thirteen Moons*; it is thus an intensely personal film and, though in no literal sense autobiographical, probably represents a guise in which this German director sees himself. He explains the title with the astrological information that every seventh year is a year of the moon, during which those who are governed more by their hearts than their minds may expect to be depressed; further, when such a year is one in which there are also thirteen moons, emotionally dominated persons risk catastrophe. The story is set in 1978, one of those latter years.

Fassbinder constructs his picture of discrete episodes—tableaux, you might say—each of which contributes to the earlier history and present condition of Elvira Weishaupt (Volker Spengler), a woman by virtue of a sex-change operation performed in Casablanca some years earlier. It is firmly stated that Edwin Weishaupt, as he was then known, was not homosexual. Rather, he had become so fond of Anton Saitz (Gottfried John), in whose slaughterhouse he

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worked, that he underwent the operation on an impulse of affection. That is carrying male friendship rather far, and would probably not recommend itself to someone whose feelings were controlled by reason.

Elvira, when we first see her, is in masculine dress and about to be savagely beaten by a man whom she solicits on the Frankfurt riverside and who takes umbrage at finding her not the sort of partner he had expected. It is the first of a series of rebuffs, inflicted by her former wife and teen-age daughter, her present and earlier lovers and a reporter to whom she had given a sensational interview. Only a whore and an old nun (the latter played by Fassbinder's mother) succor Elvira during her final days on earth. But it is the whore who casts the last stone.

The atmosphere of *In a Year of Thirteen Moons* is dark, claustrophobic, filmed in hot colors, often at bizarre, cubist angles and heavy with *Weltschmerz*. Time and again it pauses for long, philosophical contemplation of the distastefulness of being and the seduction of ending—maunderings of the sort I thought even the Germans had renounced in our time. It is not a film much disposed to humor but there is a scene in which Elvira, having interrupted a black man in the act of hanging himself and being then treated to his extended discourse on the positive aspects of suicide, advises him to get on with his project. I thought it her brightest moment.

Fassbinder mistrusts the social system as profoundly as he despairs of human relationships. He expresses this most explicitly through the history of Saitz, who had risen from black-market trickster to whoremaster to real estate millionaire and whom Elvira runs to earth in one of his vast but empty high-rises, locked in with a few henchmen and engaged in a childish parody of an old Jerry Lewis comedy he apparently keeps running endlessly on a TV set. This occupation I take to be a warning to tycoons that the fate of Howard Hughes awaits them.

Spengler carries the epicene Elvira through the modulations of his/her sexual identity with great finesse. There is nothing feminine about his face or physique, and for the most part he projects a grotesque duality of gender. However, he can still evoke Edwin, as in a scene with his distraught ex-wife (Elisabeth Trissenaar), when he offers strong, masculine tenderness. And in flashes, he can seem beautiful, even fragile. Spengler's triumph, at Fassbinder's bidding, is to abandon himself to self-pity without seeming trivial, to retain a hold on tragedy in a bath of pathos.

In a Year of Thirteen Moons is appalling, a delirium of sensibility turned rancid. Most of us have, one time or another, felt abused, traduced, godforsaken; one develops a resistance. But for those who live under the sway of the moon—and Fassbinder clearly includes himself among them—resistance may be hard to sustain, and ceremonies must be evoked. This film, it could well be, is his way of defying his demon. Like Genet, I suspect, he creates out of the worst he can find in himself.

The Outsider, directed by Tony Luraschi, is a sad and bitter film—necessarily so, since it is about the civil war in Ireland. And as that war is futile, so, to a degree, is the film. Anything that the theater can say, by way of protest or threnody, about the bloody history of Ireland, was said long, long ago—by Sean O'Casey, principally, but also, among others, by Liam O'Flaherty, whose *The Informer* (1935) was adapted for the screen by Dudley Nichols and directed by John Ford, with Victor McLaglen in the title role.

Those are hard acts to follow, because whoever treats the subject halfway honestly must cover essentially the same points: the awful senselessness of the killing, and the cruelty, corruption and pain that accompany it; in these respects civil wars are probably war at its worst. *The Outsider* is honest enough, so it makes the points once again. It makes them most effectively with the rotting cityscape of Belfast and with the twisted faces and minds of the secondary characters, played largely by Irish actors who are coldly eloquent. There is a documentary feel to much of the picture, and it will dismay you.

The central story is more dubious. Michael Flaherty, a young American veteran (still starry-eyed after Vietnam!) goes to Ireland to do his bit for the glorious cause that has been dinned into him by his grandfather (Sterling Hayden), a self-styled hero of his generation's "rising." Flaherty, played by Craig Wasson with a gee-whiz awkwardness that is sometimes touching and sometimes stagy, is taken on tolerance by the Irish Republican Army, measures up to its test of ruthlessness and then becomes a pawn between the British and the Irish, each hoping that, if the other side can be thought to have killed him, the publicity in America will be useful. Flaherty has a brief love affair with a young woman (Patricia Quinn), who impartially hates all the killers, Catholic, Protestant or British; he escapes the double trap by a bit of plot manipulation and returns to Detroit, where his dying grandfather hits him a final blow that sends him out into the streets to snarl at old ladies and punch holes in telephone booths. Battle fatigue at long last.

So *The Outsider* gives the "feel" of Ireland, but in the context of a mechanical little plot that throws the emphasis on melodramatic treachery rather than on the lethal rancor that time does nothing to abate. The British, of course, were the original villains of Ireland's torment, and the film is rough with them; they are shown as torturers, and the officers queen about in a bullying sort of way. But no one, except the slightly simple American, comes off well. It is what you might expect, given the circumstances, and what O'Casey was telling us years ago. □

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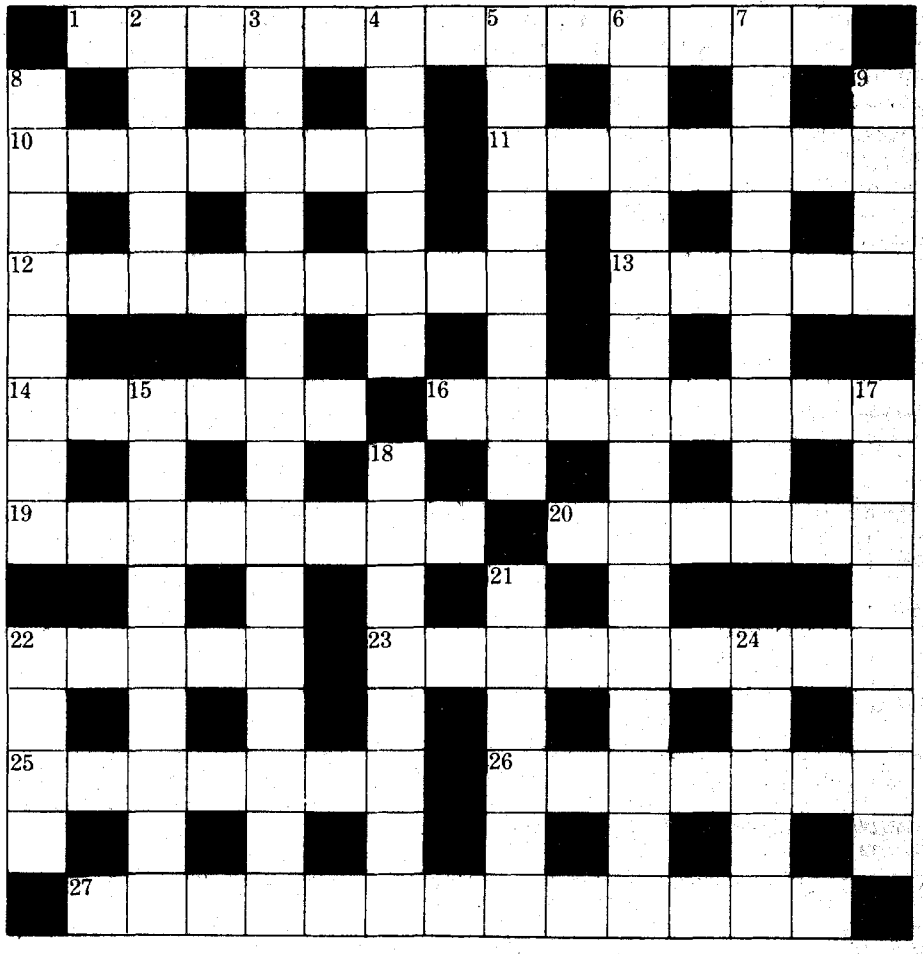

ACROSS

1 After a phone conversation, one might say it's been first with you last—but bad children might deserve one. (4, 7-2)
10 Some colleges might be, with the conclusion due to it. (7)
11 Where to find heroes, villains, and westerners riding shot-gun. (2-5)
12 The result of one's action is hard, I know, but it's wrong. (9)
13 As they say in the movies, 11, for a start. (5)
14 They show the moon's age on Jan. 1, with agreement between two points. (6)
16 It's sure nice to be different, but not exactly safe! (8)
19 All at once this ends, duly noted to be different. (8)
20 What one does to get dubbed in movies. (6)
22 Hail and farewell, at least in one state. (5)
23 Gluttony, I find, is a plea some make. (3,6)
25 Single apartment F, although someone else may have another key. (3,4)
26 They're related to father, in a way, as agent. (7)
27 Old stage and movie fare, with the woman completely uninformed. (4,2,3,4)

DOWN

2 Should this city in Utah be renamed Nashville? (5)
3 Duck underneath, between two hills? That's what the folk song implies. (4,2,3,6)
4 Increases somewhat redundantly. (At heart, I would make a good 17.) (4,2)
5 Disparaging what one might be doing when on the threshold of something. (8)
6 Left by the investigator, if efficient? (Every diamond has a different facet, this way.) (2,5,8)
7 One way Truman set to change character. (9)
8 Such as Kate don't have to be told this with archaic curses. (8)
9 and 22 down Held in a Greek contest for a prize, where they plan battle. (8)
15 Seemingly dead Roman rescued by Perseus. (9)
17 Bacon? Lamb? Like them? (One tries!) (8)
18 Is the board not up to it, finding little marine life? (8)
21 Connect the "Cat in the Hat," each in its own way. (6)
22 See 9 down
24 Is the ratel such a specimen, in recent evolution? (5)

SOLUTION PUZZLE NO. 1826

ACROSS: 1 and 5 Tickled to death; 9 Eleanor; 10 Program; 11 Ibsen; 12 Boo; 13 Piper; 14 Seattle; 16 Alyssum; 18 Optimum; 21 Sandman; 24 Demon; 26 and 15 Tomtom; 27 Arrow; 28 Alerted; 29 Tenable; 30 and 31 Heather mixture. DOWN: 1 and 18 The kiss of death; 2 Chelsea; 3 Linen; 4 Durable; 5 Tapioca; 6 Droop; 7 Apropos; 8 Humdrum; 17 Yen; 19 Tempera; 20 Matador; 21 Symptom; 22 Marabou; 23 Nowhere; 25 Notch; 27 Annex.

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